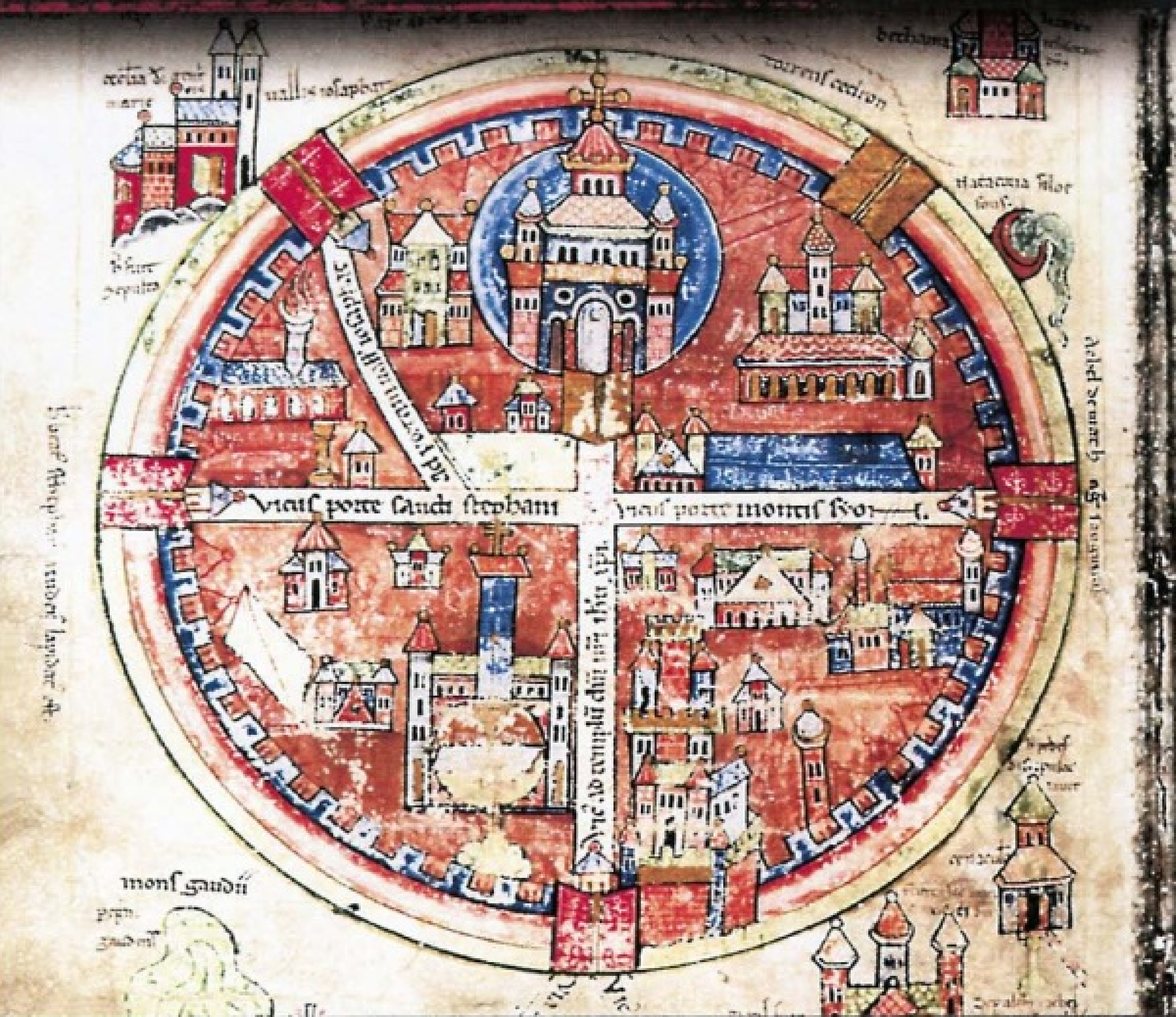
JERUSALEM IN THE TIME OF THE CRUSADES

SOCIETY, LANDSCAPE AND ART IN THE HOLY CITY UNDER FRANKISH RULE

ADRIAN J. BOAS



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In Memory of Dr Walter Pick

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Society, landscape and art in the Holy City under Frankish rule

Adrian J. Boas

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My introduction to Jerusalem at the impressionable age of seventeen was a memorable experience. I was guided through the streets of the Old City by a man who lived and breathed Jerusalem, knew every lane, every house, every stone, was intimately acquainted with the people and had a remarkable knowledge of the city's history. His name was Dr Walter Pick. His enthusiasm was infectious and in gratitude I dedicate this book in his memory.

This has been an enjoyable book to write, and made more so by help from colleagues and friends. My thanks are due to a number of people who commented, criticized and made suggestions, first to Professor Benjamin Kedar, from whose teaching, advice and encouragement I have always benefited. I profited greatly from conversations with Dr Dan Bahat, who shared with me his extensive knowledge of Crusader Jerusalem. I am indebted to Dr Hanswulf Bloedhorn, director of the German Protestant Institute of Archaeology in Jerusalem and to my dear friend and colleague Georg Philipp Melloni of the Deutscher Orden for their advice. A particular note of thanks to Dr Mickey Ehrlich who read and made useful comments on the entire manuscript. Any errors that remain are my own.

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Adrian J. Boas
Jerusalem 2000

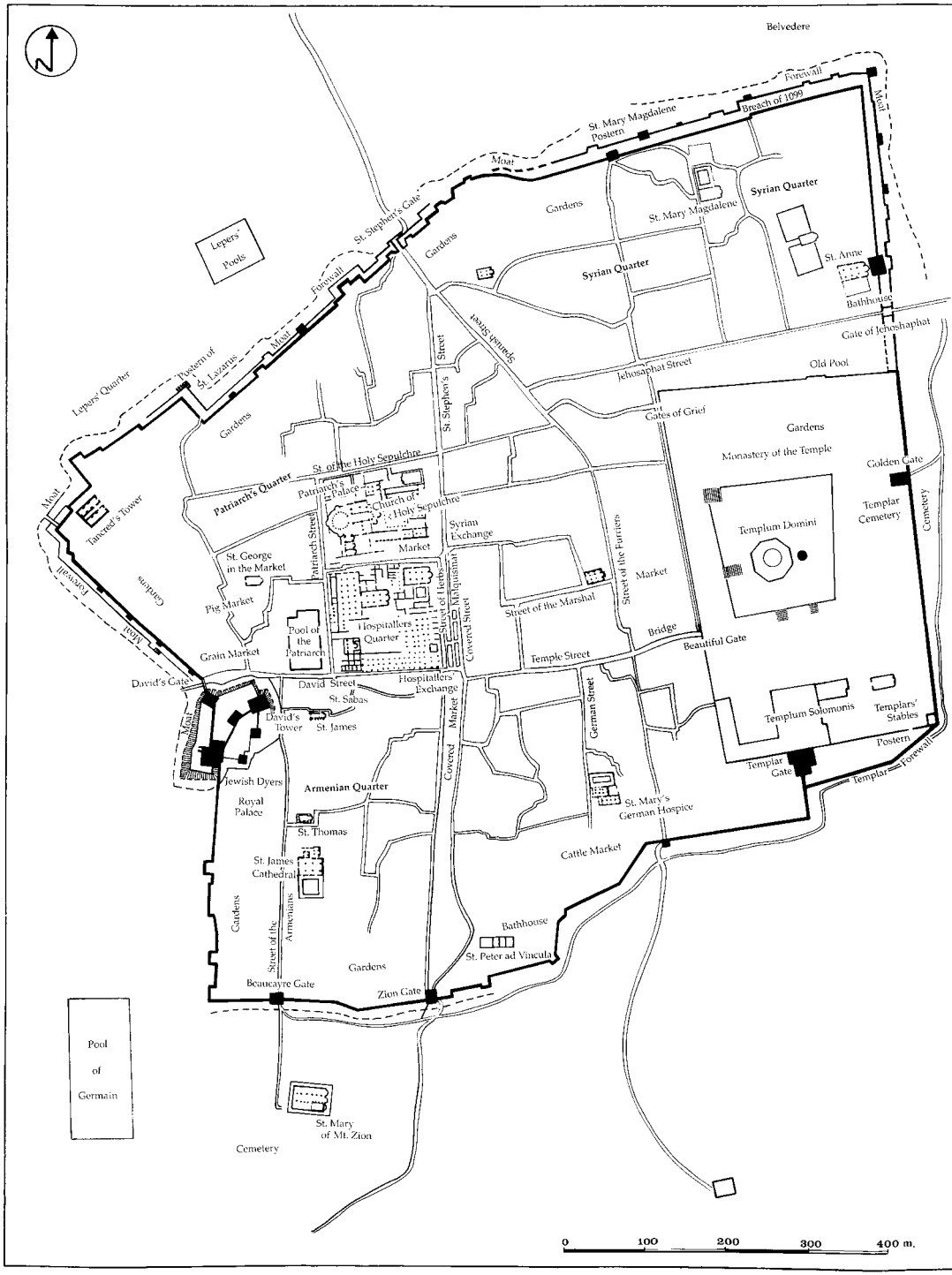
ABBREVIATIONS USED IN THE NOTES

AAS	*Asian and African Studies*
ABS	*Armenian and Biblical Studies*
AOL	*Archives de L'Orient Latin*, 2 vols, Paris, 1881, 1884
BA	*Biblical Archaeologist*
BAR	*British Archaeological Reports*
BAIAS	*Bulletin of the Anglo-Israel Archaeological Society*
BSOAS	*Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*
CCCM	*Corpus Christianorum, Continuatio Mediaeualis*, Turnholt, 1953–
Cart. Gén.	*Cartulaire générale de l'ordre des Hospitaliers de Saint-Jean de Jérusalem (1100–1310)*, ed. J. Delaville le Roulx, 4 vols, Paris, 1894–1906
CHR	*Catholic Historical Review*
DOP	*Dumbarton Oaks Papers*
EHR	*English Historical Review*
EI	*Eretz Israel*
ESI	*Excavations and Surveys in Israel*
HA	*Hadashot Arkeologiyot*
IEJ	*Israel Exploration Journal*
NEAEHL	'Jerusalem', in vol. 2, *The New Encyclopedia of Archaeological Excavations in the Holy Land*, ed. E. Stern, 4 vols, Jerusalem, 1993
PEFQS	*Palestine Exploration Fund Quarterly Statement*
PPTS	*Palestine Pilgrims' Text Society*, 13 vols, London, 1890–7
QDAP	*Quarterly of the Department of Antiquities of Palestine*
RB	*Review Biblique*
Regesta	*Regesta Regni Hierosolymitani*, ed. R. Röhricht, Innsbruck, 1893
RHC Occ.	*Recueil des historiens des croisades, Historiens Occidentaux*, 5 vols, Paris, 1844–95
RHC Or	*Recueil des historiens des croisades, Historiens Orientaux*, 5 vols, Paris, 1872–1906
ROL	*Revue de l'Orient Latin*
RS	*Rerum Britannicarum Medii Aeui Scriptores, or Chronicles and Memorials of Great Britain and Ireland in the Middle Ages* (Rolls Series), 99 vols, London, 1858–97
ZDPV	*Zeitschrift des Deutschen-Pälestina Vereins*

CHRONOLOGICAL SUMMARY

Dates	*Events*
1009	Fatimid Caliph al-Hâkim destroys the Church of the Holy Sepulchre and other churches
1048	The Byzantine Emperor Constantine Monomachus rebuilds the Church of the Holy Sepulchre
27 November 1095	Pope Urban II preaches the Crusade at Clermont
1096	The First Crusade departs from Western Europe
7 June 1099	Army of the First Crusade Arrives at Jerusalem
13 June 1099	After failed assault the army repositions
17 June 1099	Genoese ships arrive at Jaffa and are taken apart for the construction of siege towers
8 July 1099	March around the walls and sermon on the Mount of Olives
15 July 1099	Jerusalem falls to the Crusader Army
15–17 July 1099	Massacre of local population
22 July 1099	Godfrey of Bouillon elected ruler of Jerusalem
1100–18	Reign of Baldwin I
1113	Papal recognition of the Hospital of St John
1119	Founding of the Order of the Knights Templar
1118–31	Reign of Baldwin II
1131–43	Reign of Fulk of Anjou
1143–63	Reign of Baldwin III
15 July 1149	Consecration of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre
1163–74	Reign of Amaury (Amalric)
1174–85	Reign of Baldwin IV
1185–6	Reign of Baldwin V
1186–92	Reign of Guy of Lusignan
4 July 1187	Battle of Hattin
20 September 1187	Saladin arrives and besieges Jerusalem
2 October 1187	Jerusalem falls to Saladin
1219	al-Mu‘azzam ‘Isâ destroys the fortifications of Jerusalem
1229	Treaty of Jaffa restores Jerusalem to the Crusaders

18 March 1229	Frederick II crowns himself King of Jerusalem in the Church of the Holy Sepulchre
1239	al-Nâsir al-Da'ûd occupies Jerusalem and destroys the fortifications
1239–41	Crusade of Thibaut IV, king of Navarre and Richard of Cornwall
1244	Khawarizmians take the city. Frankish rule in Jerusalem ends



Map Jerusalem in the Crusader Period

INTRODUCTION

The period of Frankish rule in Jerusalem is not a long one when compared to some other periods in the history of the city. It embraces two distinct phases, the first and principal one extending from the conquest of the city on 15 July 1099, at the end of the First Crusade, until the Ayyubid occupation on 2 October 1187 following the Battle of Hattin and a brief siege lasting twelve days. The second, short-lived phase began with the reoccupation of Jerusalem by the Franks under the terms of the Treaty of Jaffa and Tell Ajul, ratified on 18 February 1229. When the treaty expired ten years later in 1239, Jerusalem was briefly occupied by al-Nâsir al-Da'ûd of Kerak. After destroying the Tower of David, he departed and the city was reoccupied by the Franks in 1241. This final phase of Crusader occupation ended with the Khwarizmian conquest of the city in 1244.

These two periods of Frankish rule together amount to little more than a hundred years. In terms of the physical changes that took place in this short span of time, we can place Crusader Jerusalem among the important periods in the history of the city. Within the contours of Roman/Byzantine Jerusalem the Franks carried out an internal transformation which was in some measure as great as any made to Jerusalem since the time of Hadrian in the second century AD. The evolution of Jerusalem into a Crusader city was a protracted undertaking extending over several decades, the dual aim of which was the physical restoration of the spiritual capital of Christendom and the transformation of a provincial Muslim city into the capital of a Western Christian kingdom. The rebuilding of Jerusalem was also aimed at overcoming the demographic crisis which the Franks themselves had created. When they occupied Jerusalem, a slaughter of the local population was carried out between 15 and 18 July 1099.[1] It left the new capital purged of 'infidels' but also almost a ghost town, as few Crusaders remained in the city after the conquest. As a result, alongside the passionate desire to restore Christian holy places to their past glory, there was a more practical need to repopulate the now near-empty city. The lengthy process of restoration and repopulation began shortly after the occupation. However, restoration requires capital, and after the First Crusade financial support from the West was not always forthcoming. Though there were few local resources, some of the abandoned wealth of Fatimid Jerusalem could now be channelled into new projects. This must have been at least partly the means by which a fairly large number of churches was built in the

first half of the twelfth century to replace those destroyed by the Egyptian Caliph al-Hâkim at the beginning of the eleventh century.[2] These included not only the Church of the Holy Sepulchre but the churches of St Anne, St Mary on Mount Zion, the Tomb of the Virgin in Jehoshaphat, St James in the Armenian Quarter, the Church of the Ascension on the Mount of Olives and a large number of lesser churches.

However, the efforts to repopulate the city required much more than churches. The real recovery of Jerusalem and its transformation into a city worthy of its position in Christendom was achieved when both Church and lay leaders realized the tremendous potential of pilgrimage, as a source of cash, commerce and new settlers. Thus one of the prominent features of twelfth-century Jerusalem is its focus on what one is tempted to call the 'pilgrim industry', the medieval equivalent of the tourist industry. Christian pilgrimage began to revive immediately after the Frankish conquest, and steadily increased as internal security improved. The need grew for hospices, hospitals, money exchanges and specialized markets and the Franks began to construct these in the first half of the twelfth century. An early thirteenth-century text which describes these institutions shows the centrality of pilgrimage in the life of the city. *La Citez de Jherusalem*, an anonymous French pilgrim guide, describes, as do most such guides, the numerous churches and holy sites in and around the city.[3] However, it also describes, and in greater detail than any other medieval source, the streets, money exchanges, markets, hospices, hospitals and various other institutions established specifically for the use of the crowds of pilgrims. Crusader Jerusalem was a city in which the Christian pilgrim was well looked after.

PART I

THE MEDIEVAL CITY

In appearance, the Old City of Jerusalem is still essentially a medieval city. However, within the confines of its walls some fundamental changes have taken place since the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. The gates are not locked at night and the walls no longer serve as bulwarks against a hostile outer world. The open fields around the inside of the walls, once used as fruit and vegetable gardens and open markets, have largely been overrun by construction works of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. There is now electricity, gas, piped water and a reasonably modern sewage system. Nonetheless, with the exception of the Jewish Quarter, which has been largely rebuilt since 1967, the city is very much as it appeared nine hundred years ago and a visitor from the twelfth century would probably not have too much trouble in finding his way about.

Medieval Jerusalem (see the map on page xv) was the holiest of Christian cities, containing, as it still does, a multitude of pilgrimage sites. Like other cities where tourism and pilgrimage are staple industries, the city's population can be divided into two distinct groups – permanent residents and visitors. In such cities the ratio between these two groups reflects the degree of success in ministering to the needs of visitors. A higher proportion of visitors to residents will be found in a city which is doing a better job at 'selling itself' to the public. Because of its spiritual attractions Jerusalem has always done this fairly well. The Middle Ages were no exception and, while we have no statistics, or at least none that are reliable, there can be little doubt that by such standards medieval Jerusalem was quite successful.

How can we judge the degree of success of a city which, to all intents and purposes, ceased to exist eight hundred years ago? One way to do this is to look at its surviving monuments. A large number of medieval public buildings can still be found in the city. In less than ninety years the Franks not only replaced all the churches destroyed under Muslim rule but built a large number of new ones, re-identifying and on occasion inventing holy sites to go with them. They also strengthened the fortifications and built a new palace, constructed monasteries, hospices, hospitals, covered market streets, bathhouses and various other institutions. The extent of Frankish efforts in the construction of these works has no parallel in the history of the city since the Byzantine period and by such standards Crusader Jerusalem seems to have been a great success as a pilgrimage city.

CHAPTER ONE

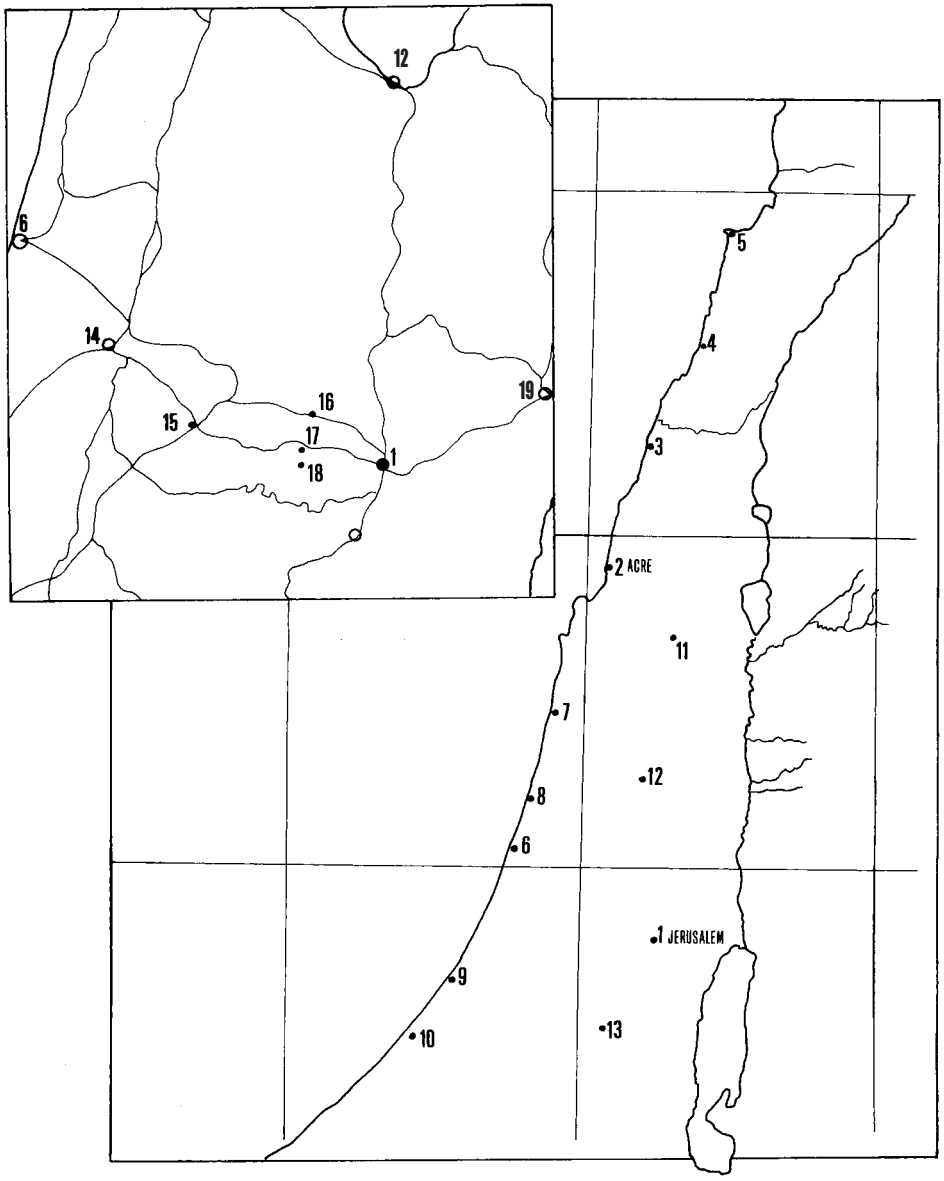
THE PHYSICAL SETTING

Jerusalem is situated on the watershed of the Judaean mountains, about 750 to 820 m above sea level (Figure 1.1). It is 58 km inland from the Mediterranean coast and 25 km west of the northern tip of the Dead Sea. Since it is positioned on what could hardly be considered an important commercial route south from Damascus via Nablus and a number of lesser roads, to Hebron in the south, Jericho and Amman in the east and Ramleh and Jaffa to the west, commerce has never really been a significant factor in its history. While it holds a certain role as a regional centre, Jerusalem has always owed its importance to religion and politics.

The present-day Old City, enclosed within its sixteenth-century walls, covers the same area, give or take a few square metres, as Crusader Jerusalem. It is located between two valleys, the Kidron to the east and the Hinnom to the west, which converge in the south at the site of the city's principal natural water source, the Siloam Spring. Within this physical frame, the secondary Tyropoeon Valley, running through the city from north to south, divides it into two hills; Mount Zion to the west and Mount Moriah (the Temple Mount) to the east. The Siloam Spring is the only natural water source, a factor which would have limited the development of the city but was resolved by artificial solutions such as the construction of aqueducts, open reservoirs and cisterns.[1]

Jerusalem is located in an area of limestone and chalk and these serve as its principal building materials. They include the soft, pinkish post-tertiary limestone, of poor quality for building, locally known as Nari and the harder Hippurite limestone termed *Mizzi*.[2] A white limestone known as *Meleke* ('royal') is also popular in building, as it is very easy to cut when freshly quarried but hardens when exposed. Crusader masons favoured two types of stone, the *Mizzi* for marginally drafted ashlars or roughly shaped fieldstones used in wall construction, and the softer *Meleke* for the finer, carefully drafted building stones with the distinctive Frankish diagonal tooling used for door and window frames and other architectural features.[3]

In the Crusader period the hills immediately around the city were devoid of trees suitable for timber. Sieges, droughts and the types of soil and rock in the region were not favourable to the establishment of natural forests. The Roman siege of the first century AD had depleted the forests and, long before the twelfth century, Arculfus (*c.* 670) had noted the need to transport firewood to Jerusalem from a small pine forest located slightly north of Hebron.[4] It is unlikely that there was any improvement in this



1 Jerusalem
2 Acre
3 Tyre
4 Sidon
5 Beirut
6 Jaffa
7 Caesarea
8 Arsuf
9 Ascalon
10 Darum
11 Nazareth
12 Nablus
13 Hebron
14 Ramleh/Lydda
15 Latrun
16 Al-Bîra
17 Nabi Samâwil
18 Al-Kurûm
19 Jericho

Figure 1.1 The Kingdom of Jerusalem (drawn by Dalit Weinblatt).

condition between the seventh century and the time when the Crusaders appeared on the scene.[5] Indeed, by that time the situation must have worsened. If the forest near Hebron had survived that long, it may well have been denuded in 1098 during the Fatimid siege of Seljuk Jerusalem and perhaps again prior to the arrival of the Crusaders, when the Fatimids probably cut down any remaining trees in the region to provide themselves with wood in preparation for the approaching siege.[6] The Franks would have depleted any remaining resources in their search for wood to construct their siege machinery.[7] Throughout the Crusade period and later the lack of wood for firewood or construction remained a problem. Thus Theoderich (*c.* 1169) writes: 'Wood suitable for building or for fires is dear there, because the Mount Lebanus – the only mountain which abounds in cedar, cypress, and pine-wood – is a long way off from them, and they cannot approach it for fear of the attacks of the infidels.'[8] Later, in the fifteenth century, the pilgrim Felix Fabri refers to the difficulty of obtaining firewood for use in private kitchens.[9]

The vicinity of Crusader Jerusalem was an area of fairly intensive rural settlement.[10] In addition to the larger towns and villages, like Bethlehem to the south and al-Bira (*Magna Mahumeria*) to the north, there were a number of smaller villages, farms and rural estate centres such as ar-Ram and al-Jib, al-Kurûm and *Montjoie* (Nabi Samâwil) to the north, al-Qubaiba (*Parva Mahumeria*), Motza (*Colonia*), Khirbet Mizza, Lifta (*Clepsta*), Khirbet Lowza and Aqua Bella to the west, and Bethpage and Bethany to the east. Monasteries were located at Ain Karem (St John in the Wood), Abu Ghosh (*Emmaus/Fontenoid*), Bethany and Nabi Samâwil (*Montjoie*). Many of these rural properties were possessions of property owners resident in the city. Occasionally these were private individuals, but more often they were the king, the churches and military orders. Most of the settlements supplied the city with farm produce, livestock, poultry, cereals, fruit and vegetables and processed products such as cheese, wine and oil.[11] Some no doubt provided the city with pottery and other manufactured items.

CHAPTER TWO

BACKGROUND TO THE CRUSADER PERIOD

As noted earlier, the Frankish conquest of Jerusalem in 1099, with the ensuing slaughter and the banishment of the surviving population, left the city almost devoid of inhabitants. However, within a few decades the city was repopulated and for most of the twelfth century it thrived as the administrative capital and as the focus of a massive pilgrimage movement. Under the Franks Jerusalem became more cosmopolitan in character than it had been under Muslim rule. Buildings in the Romanesque style rose among the local Eastern architecture. Pilgrims from every Christian country visited the city, mixing in the streets with the Eastern Christian residents. Having recovered its position as capital after many centuries, Jerusalem also regained some of the establishments that had long been absent from the city. It was once again a royal city and had a royal palace which, after various locations, was finally constructed on the site of the Herodian palace to the south of the citadel. Jerusalem had a mint, a royal treasury and other institutions of government. This was a far cry from the position it had held under Muslim rule, when, after initial eminence under the Umayyads, the city had taken on a role subordinate to the new provincial capital of Ramleh.

Jerusalem on the eve of the Crusades

Just over four and a half centuries had passed since Jerusalem had come under Muslim rule. In AD 614, after a twenty-day siege, Byzantine Jerusalem had been conquered by the Persians. Although the city was recaptured fourteen years later by Emperor Heraclius, the Persian victory of 614 heralded the approaching end of Christian Jerusalem. Two decades later, between AD 636 and 638 the Holy City fell to the Muslim army of Caliph 'Umar.[1] For the next four and a half centuries Jerusalem was held by a succession of Muslim military governors representing foreign rule: the Umayyads ruling from Damascus until 750, the Abbasids from Baghdad until 878, the Egyptian Tulunid caliphate from 868 to 905 and Fatimid caliphate from 969 until 1073. In June of that year the Turkish Seljuks took the city and in 1098, one year before the arrival of the army of the First Crusade, Jerusalem reverted to Fatimid rule.

In general, under the Muslims the physical layout of Jerusalem differed little from that of the Byzantine city. The only major change was the eleventh-century

reconstruction of the city wall in the south, which left the City of David and Mount Zion outside the walls, and the realignment of the north-west wall somewhat further to the west. However, major alterations were made to the urban infrastructure by the construction of many new and remarkable public buildings. The most important of these were the Dome of the Rock, the al-Aqsa Mosque and the Umayyad palaces south of the Temple Mount (*Haram al-Sharîf*).

The population of Jerusalem in the Fatimid period approached twenty thousand.[2] It was a diverse amalgamation of Jews, various communities of Eastern Christians and Muslims.[3] Several hundred years after the Islamic conquest, the Muslims may still not have been the majority and do not appear to have been entirely in control of the city.[4] Christian and Jewish pilgrimage continued, in spite of the difficulties and dangers involved.[5]

Nasir-i Khosraw described Jerusalem as a great city with strong walls, iron gates, high, well-built bazaars and paved streets.[6] The Seljuk occupation of the city from 1073 until 1098 has left no evidence for any major construction in that period. However, there is evidence for a religious-intellectual revival in the city after a certain spiritual drought under the Fatimids.[7] In August 1098, the Fatimids under the command of the vizier, al-Afdal ibn Badr al-Jamâlî, reoccupied Jerusalem. In preparation for the anticipated arrival of the Crusader armies, which by that time were approaching Antioch, the Fatimid governor Iftikhâr al-Dawla stationed in the city a large, well-trained army augmented by a special Egyptian corps of 400 élite cavalry. The Muslims prepared for the arrival of the Crusaders by strengthening the city walls, particularly in the north, where they built or strengthened an existing barbican and ditch, and on Mount Zion, where they cut another ditch and possibly reconstructed the forewall.[8] Residents of surrounding villages moved inside the walls, and the greater part of the Christian population was expelled from the city to the outlying villages. The latter was a precaution against possible treachery on the part of the Christians, who were understandably suspected of harbouring aspirations of a return to Christian rule.[9]

Conquest and occupation in the twelfth century

On 27 November 1095, in the town of Clermont in central France, Pope Urban II called on Western Christianity to organize an army to free the Holy Sepulchre from the hands of the infidel. In the following year a great crusade was organized and set out for the East.[10] On the morning of 7 June 1099 the army of the First Crusade arrived at a hill subsequently known as Montjoie, from where they could see Jerusalem in the distance. This was probably Nabi Samâwil, one of the highest hills in the Judaean Mountains and traditional site of the burial place of the prophet Samuel, located 7.5 km north-west of Jerusalem. By dusk they were camped outside the city walls. The six-week siege of Jerusalem, the culmination of the three years of the First Crusade, began.

According to the Frankish chronicler, William, archbishop of Tyre, on the Frankish side there were some 1,500 knights, 20,000 foot-soldiers and 18,500 followers. On the Muslim side there were an estimated 40,000 well-equipped soldiers.[11] Iftikhâr al-Dawla set up his headquarters in the citadel (the Tower of David) located beside the western

gate, and the citizens, mostly Muslims and Jews, were stationed along the entire length of the walls. Accounts vary as to the initial deployment of the Crusading army on 7 June. According to William of Tyre, it was concentrated in the north-west of the city, 'from the gate known today as St Stephen, which faces north, to the gate which lies below the Tower of David on the west side of the city'.[12] Count Raymond of Toulouse initially took up a position opposite the wall, between the citadel and the north-western corner. The Italian Norman, Tancred, faced Qasr al-Jâlûd (sometimes known as the Quadrangular Tower and later as Tancred's Tower) at the north-west corner of the city, and further to the east along the northern wall were Robert of Normandy, Robert of Flanders and, at the centre of the northern wall near Damascus Gate, Godfrey of Bouillon.[13] The description by Albert of Aachen (Aix), however, places Godfrey opposite the Tower of David to the west, with Tancred to his left, Raymond of Toulouse to his right, Robert of Flanders and Hugh of St Pol behind and Robert of Normandy with Conan of Brittany at Damascus Gate.[14]

The first major action was an ill-prepared and fundamentally pointless direct attack on the walls that took place on 13 June (Figure 2.1). The attack, which perhaps was dictated by the spiritual mood of the troops rather than by military considerations, was doomed to failure from the start. In medieval warfare a castle or walled city could not be taken without a good supply of timber needed for the construction of ladders and siege machinery. As noted earlier, the Crusader armies had almost none. The Muslims had probably destroyed whatever forests survived around Jerusalem before they arrived.[15] Fulcher of Chartres wrote that the princes had ordered wooden ladders to be made but complained that there were too few of them, resulting in the abandonment of the attack.[16] The anonymous author of the *Gesta Francorum* wrote that if the scaling ladders of the Franks had been ready the city would have fallen. He does record the use of one ladder, noting that after breaking through the barbican the Franks set it up against the great wall.[17]

But scaling ladders alone were clearly not sufficient for a full-scale attack on a strongly fortified city. Although ill-conceived, the motivation for this direct attack is not difficult to understand in light of the difficult terrain, which greatly diminished the likelihood of an effective blockade of the walls, essential to carrying out a siege. It was obvious that the Fatimids would reply in force to the Crusader advance into their territory and to their attack on Jerusalem. It was essential for the Crusaders to occupy the city as soon as possible and to place the walls of Jerusalem between themselves and the Fatimid army.

The predictable failure of the direct attack resulted in the Crusaders taking a more sober approach to the problem. With the weariness and despondency of the army, the heat and lack of supplies and the impending threat from Egypt, a protracted siege was not a real option. As time was of the essence, the Crusader leaders moved in two directions: on the one hand they attempted to improve the morale of the troops by reawakening their dormant religious feelings through sermons, fasts and prayer, and on the other they made an effort to obtain the wood needed to build siege machinery, making do with what they could find. According to Fulcher of Chartres, battering rams and sows (movable roofed structures used during a siege to approach a wall without being exposed to fire) were prepared, and a tower was constructed 'from small pieces of wood because large pieces could not be secured in those regions'.[18] Non-combatants

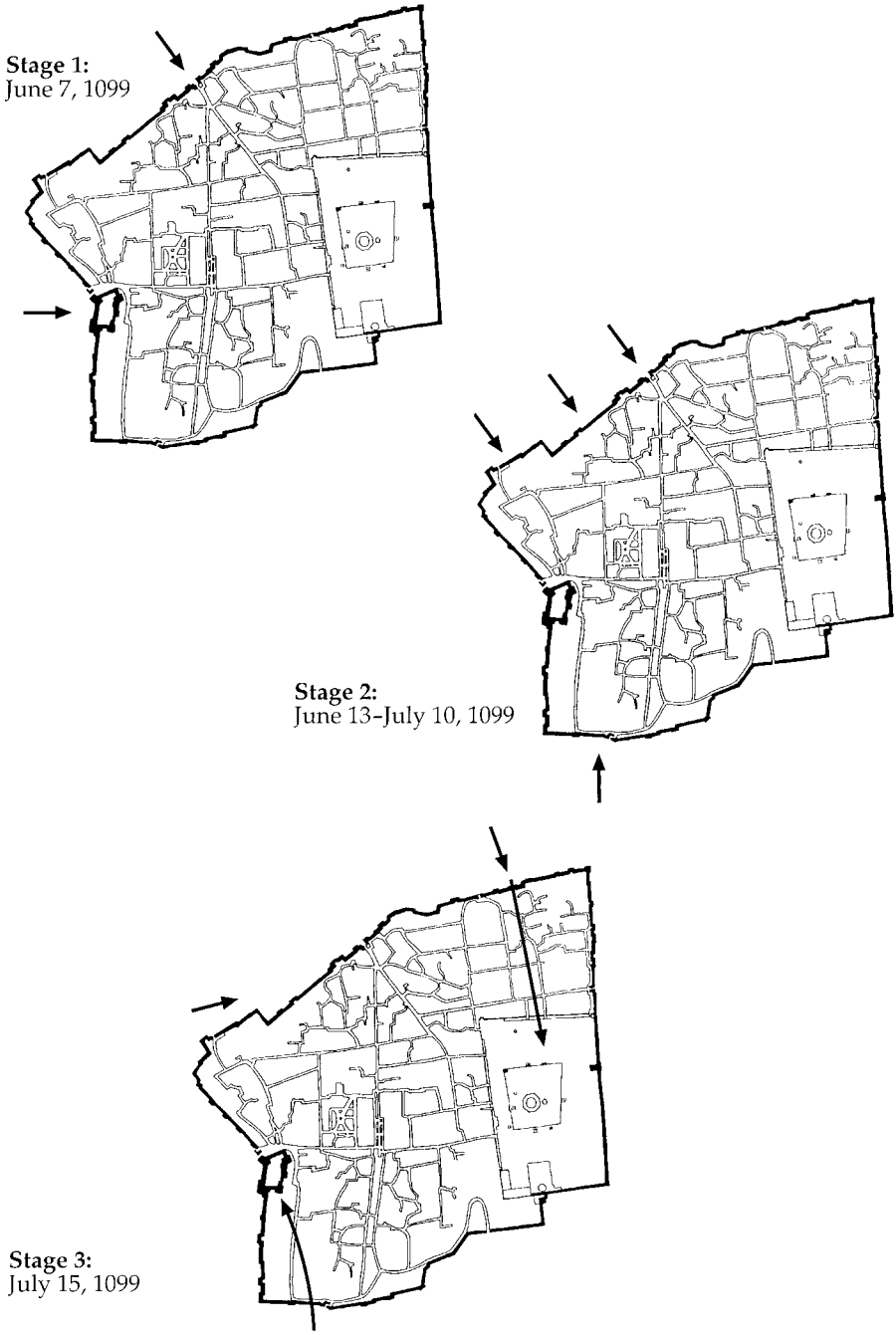


Figure 2.1 Crusader Siege of Jerusalem in 1099 (drawn by Dalit Weinblatt).

were sent to Bethlehem to gather branches and twigs to make coverings for assault machines. The Franks also moved further afield in their search for timber.

On 8 July a barefoot march around the walls was led by priests with crosses and holy relics, ending on the Mount of Olives where a sermon was preached by Arnulf of Choques. The fighting spirit was restored. If the Crusaders had hoped that this march would precipitate a biblical collapse of the walls they were disappointed. However, the search for timber to build siege machinery was at last successful. Wood was found over 50 km distant, near Nablus. Also, according to Albert of Aachen, a local Christian showed the Franks where to find timber four miles towards Arabia (east).[19] William of Tyre records that timber was found six or seven miles distant and that it was used to build siege machines: mangonels (or petraries), rams and scrophae (sows).[20] Ralph of Caen records that Tancred, who was suffering from dysentery and sought privacy during one of the searches for wood, came upon a cave containing some 400 beams of wood conveniently left there by the Fatimids, perhaps from their siege of the Seljuks.[21] Another conveniently timed event was the arrival of Genoese ships at Jaffa on 17 June. At the same time a large Fatimid fleet approached Jaffa. Rather than having their ships sunk by the Muslims, the Genoese dismantled them and withdrew to the citadel. They then accompanied their dismantled ships to the outskirts of Jerusalem, where the construction of siege engines commenced.[22]

According to the *Gesta Francorum*, when the defenders discerned the construction of the siege weapons, they reacted by strengthening the fortifications and increasing the height of the defences.[23] The Frankish siege machines included three large siege towers, which were placed on Mount Zion and at two different positions on the northern wall. These were the only parts of the city's defences where the natural topography allowed the use of siege towers, which could only be used on fairly flat terrain. The *Gesta* relates that it took the Franks three days and three nights to fill the ditch and bring the towers up to the walls.[24] Two of the towers were partly destroyed in the fighting but the third, under the command of Godfrey of Bouillon, was brought up against the forewall east of St Stephen's Gate (Damascus Gate). On Friday 15 July, a battering ram was used to knock down the barbican. According to William of Tyre, the fighters in the siege engines ignited sacks of straw and cotton, spreading black smoke onto the ramparts and causing the defenders to abandon their positions.[25] At nine o'clock two Flemish brothers, Lethold and Gilbert of Tournai, mounted the wall, followed by Duke Godfrey, and entered the city. The Franks later raised a cross on the wall at this place to commemorate the event. Godfrey sent a number of knights to open the northern gate and the entire army entered the city.

In the south, on Mount Zion, Raymond of Toulouse's men scaled the walls with ladders and ropes and entered the city. The Muslim defenders fled to the citadel. After negotiations, the Fatimid commander surrendered the citadel to Raymond; in return the Muslim and Jewish fugitives who had taken refuge there were permitted safe passage to the coastal city of Ascalon.

However, the fate of most of the population of Jerusalem was less fortunate. The First Crusade ended true to form. The slaughter of the Jewish communities in the Rhineland in 1096 and of the Muslims in the town of Magharat an-Nu'aman near Antioch in January 1099 was not to eclipse the massacre carried out by the Crusaders during their first three days in Jerusalem. There are a number of graphic descriptions

of this slaughter. Part of the population sought refuge on the roof of the al-Aqsa Mosque. They were promised the protection of Tancred and the banners of Tancred and Gaston of Béarn were displayed as proof of this, but they were slaughtered nonetheless.[26] In the words of Raymond of Aguilers: 'wonderful sights were to be seen. Some of our men – and this was the more merciful course – cut off the heads of their enemies; others shot them with arrows so that they fell from the towers; others tortured them longer by casting them into the flames. Piles of heads, hands and feet were to be seen in the streets of the city.'[27] Muslim and Jewish captives who had somehow escaped the slaughter were employed to dispose of the dead, and contemporary accounts paint a horrible picture reminiscent of atrocities in more recent times. One Frankish source, the *Gesta Francorum*, notes that the Crusader leaders 'commanded that all the Saracen corpses should be thrown outside the city because of the fearful stench, for almost the whole city was full of their dead bodies. So the surviving Saracens dragged the dead ones out in front of the gates, and piled them up in mounds as big as houses.'[28] According to Raymond of Aguilers: 'It was necessary to pick one's way over the bodies of men and horses . . . in the Temple and porch of Solomon, men rode in blood up to their knees and bridle reins . . . The city was filled with corpses and blood.'[29] The corpses were so numerous that when Fulcher of Chartres visited the city five months later, the foul odour was still overwhelming: 'Oh, what a stench there was around the walls of the city, both within and without, from the rotting bodies of the Saracens slain by our comrades at the time of the capture of the city, lying wherever they had been hunted down!'[30]

These graphic and appalling accounts of the events should however be regarded with reservation as to their accuracy. The Christian sources no doubt exaggerate the magnitude of the slaughter, probably motivated by pride in the extent to which they were carrying out the papal call to destroy the *gentiles* (infidels). The Muslim sources exaggerate the number of dead in order to gain sympathy and emphasize the barbarity of the Crusaders. The description of Ibn al-Athîr illustrates the unreliability of the details. He writes: 'In the *masjid al-Aqsâ* the Franks slaughtered more than 70,000 people.'[31] This number far exceeds even the highest estimate of the entire population of Jerusalem at the time of the siege.[32] Fulcher gives nearly 10,000 killed in the Temple of Solomon, as does William of Tyre, who adds no less than 10,000 for the rest of the city.[33] While it is clear that the massacre was on a large scale, Benjamin Z. Kedar has recently presented a new perspective, suggesting that the various horrendous accounts of the massacre are perhaps more in the nature of religious narratives in the tradition of apocalyptic texts than historically accurate descriptions of the events.[34] This was the 'baptism by fire' from which the new 'Kingdom of Heaven' was to arise.

Revival

The modern phrase, 'ethnic cleansing' is perhaps an appropriate term to describe this slaughter. However it was not immediately followed by a replacement of the non-Christian population by Franks. After the conquest most of the Crusaders left Jerusalem and the city was left practically empty.[35] The lack of residents left it particularly vulnerable to attack. According to William of Tyre, barely a quarter of the

city was occupied, and there were not enough people to man the fortifications and gates.[36] In his description of the condition of Jerusalem and the other towns captured at this time, he writes:

> Even within the city walls, in the very houses, there was scarcely a place where one could rest in security. For the inhabitants were few and scattered and the ruinous state of the walls left every place exposed to the enemy. Thieves made stealthy inroads by night. They broke into the deserted cities, whose few inhabitants were scattered far apart, and overpowered many in their very own houses. The result was that some stealthily, and many quite openly, abandoned the holdings which they had won and began to return to their own land.[37]

The decision to prevent the surviving Muslims and Jews from returning to Jerusalem necessitated various means of resettling the now empty city and attracting a new Christian population. After coming across Eastern Christians in Transjordan in 1115 (or 1116), Baldwin I had them settled in Jerusalem.[38] This was in the north-eastern quarter which had been the Jewish quarter prior to the conquest and which still retained that name (*Juiverie*) in the twelfth century.

Another means, not so much of bringing in a new population but of preventing the departure of the existing one, was the passing of legislation aimed at putting an end to absentee landlordship. According to this law (*assise de l'an et jour*), anyone in possession of real estate in the city who was absent from it for a year and a day would forfeit his ownership of the property in favour of the occupants.[39] An additional measure, which made the city somewhat more attractive to merchants, was taken by Baldwin II in 1120. This involved the waiving of tax payments at the citadel for certain goods brought into the city, namely grain, vegetables, beans, lentils and peas.[40] Baldwin's main aim in issuing this edict was to make conditions easier for the citizens by lowering the cost of basic foods in the city.[41]

This must have been a very difficult time for the Franks. The Saracens were increasing their pressure by attacking travellers outside the city. In the previous year a group of about 700 pilgrims that had set out from Jerusalem to visit the site of the baptism at the Jordan river was ambushed. Three hundred of them were killed and sixty were captured.[42] More substantial measures to improve security needed to be taken if Christian rule of the city was to be maintained. In this regard two important developments took place. One of these was the establishment of the first of the military orders, the Templars. They were to play a crucial role in the security of the kingdom and of travel within it. The other action, which was directly related to the establishment of the Templars and of the second military order, the Hospitallers, was the development and expansion of the pilgrimage movement. Pilgrimage revitalized the city, playing a role as important as that of the Italian commercial activity in the Crusader coastal towns. Churches and various other institutions aimed at easing the lot of the pilgrim were set up in the city. The population increased and commerce expanded.

The part played by the military orders in the revival of the city and its development in this period went beyond the security they provided and the role they played in attending to the needs of the pilgrims. Remarkably effective at accruing wealth, these establishments brought in badly needed capital. Once established they expanded rapidly, not only in Jerusalem and the Latin East but throughout the West. In the

thirteenth century the Hospitallers owned 19,000 rural estates in the West, and one third of the income from their estates reached Jerusalem.[43]

A number of major building projects were carried out in the first half of the twelfth century. The city walls were repaired and new markets were constructed. The most important building project of the first half of the twelfth century was the rebuilding of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre. Many smaller churches were also built to replace those destroyed during the Islamic rule, or to fulfil the needs of the new Christian population. The headquarters of the military orders were constructed or expanded and the great hospital rose to the south of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre.

By the middle of the twelfth century, Jerusalem had probably completely recovered and perhaps expanded beyond its pre-Crusader population. In the second half of the century the city continued to develop. The walls were strengthened, the citadel was considerably expanded, a new royal palace was built and the city's water system was greatly improved. However, the kingdom was entering a period of political instability. From 1174 the kingdom was ruled by the young king, Baldwin IV, who suffered from leprosy. In 1185, when his disease reached an advanced stage and he could no longer rule effectively, the king handed the rule over to Baldwin V, a child of eight, and the kingdom was managed by the regent Raymond of Tripoli. Baldwin V died a year later and Guy of Lusignan, the husband of Baldwin IV's sister Sibylla, came to the throne. The rivalry between Guy and Raymond of Tripoli weakened the kingdom at the very time that it faced its greatest threat, a unified Muslim front led by Saladin (Salâh al-Din Yusûf ibn Ayyûb). When the Franks faced Saladin at Hattin in July 1187, most of the knights in the kingdom were slaughtered or taken into captivity. The outcome was the almost complete collapse of the kingdom within a few months.

The fall of Crusader Jerusalem

After occupying Ascalon on 5 September, Saladin advanced on Jerusalem. By mid-September he had taken the monasteries and villages in the outskirts of the city, including the Premonstratensian monastery of Montjoie (Nabi Samâwil), the monks of which appear to have been unsuccessfully racing against time to complete their fortifications and moat.[44] Saladin himself arrived at Jerusalem on Sunday 20 September. By this time the population of the city had swelled considerably. Franks from Ascalon, Darum, Gaza, Ramleh and other towns and villages had fled to the capital.[45] Goods were brought in from the surrounding countryside to supply the city's needs in preparation for the expected siege.

After the Frankish defeat at Hattin, Balian of Ibelin, lord of Nablus, received permission to come to Jerusalem in early July to take away his wife, Maria Comnena and his family. Saladin permitted this on condition that he did not remain more than one night or take up arms in defence of the city. On arriving in Jerusalem, Balian was welcomed by church leaders and the populace as the badly needed leader of the city's defence.[46] The commanders of the Templars and the Hospitallers maintained that it was his moral obligation to defend Jerusalem. The greatest pressure on Balian was exerted by Patriarch Eraclius. Balian was in a difficult position because of his oath to Saladin, which he felt bound to uphold. He chose the extraordinary action of applying to Saladin to release him from his oath, and Saladin with even more remarkable

magnanimity agreed to do so. Balian immediately set up a provisional government, organizing a makeshift army as there were almost no fighting men in the city. 'Imad al-Dîn and Ibn Shaddâd describe Jerusalem as being filled with more than 60,000 fighting men, and Ibn al-Athîr refers to 70,000 cavalry and infantry.[47] However, these numbers are pure propaganda, doubtless aimed at glorifying the achievement of the Ayyubid army. According to the Chronicle of Ernoul and Bernard the Treasurer there were only two knights in the city who had escaped from Hattin![48] In order to alleviate the situation, Balian knighted all noble youths over the age of fifteen and promoted some forty burgesses to knighthood.[49] Gold and silver were stripped from the roof of the Holy Sepulchre to be used for minting coins to pay the new knights.[50]

The events which followed mirror, to some extent, the siege of Jerusalem by the Frankish armies in 1099 (Figure 2.2). The defenders procured supplies from the surrounding countryside and took up positions around the walls. On 21 September the besieging army advanced on the northern and north-western walls. Attacks on these positions continued for several days, but to no avail. With their backs to the wall, the Franks seem to have regained the tenacity they had lost at Hattin. The realization that they were defending the Holy Sepulchre itself must have strengthened their motivation.

The next move of the Muslims once again echoes the manoeuvres of the Crusaders in 1099. On Friday 26 September they took up position further to the east, on the northern wall, in the area of St Mary Magdalene's postern and opposite the northern part of the eastern city wall. One major difference between the two sieges was that the Muslim army was well equipped with siege machinery. They set up mangonels and began a bombardment of the walls. A tremendous hail of arrows was fired by at least 10,000 archers at the defenders, preventing them from remaining on the walls.[51] These measures allowed the Muslim attackers, defended by another 10,000 mounted men armed with lances and bows, to cross the ditch and set to work at sapping the walls, until a section of the forewall collapsed.[52] This, in effect, sealed the fate of Jerusalem. The Franks, realizing the hopelessness of their position, asked for terms. Saladin initially refused and, in desperation, Balian of Ibelin warned him in no uncertain terms of the drastic measures that the Franks were prepared to take. According to Ibn al-Athîr, Balian said that the Franks would kill the women and children and all the Muslim prisoners, between 3,000 and 5,000, destroy their property and, most appalling of all, dismantle the Dome of the Rock and the al-Aqsa Mosque. This had the desired effect and Saladin agreed to let the Franks ransom themselves. He first demanded 100,000 bezants, a sum which Balian told him was unrealistic. In the end, the terms agreed upon were ten dinars for a man, five for a woman and one for a child.[53] The Franks were given forty days to raise the ransom money. These terms were beyond the means of most of the inhabitants; while many were freed without payment, many others were taken into captivity.[54] Ibn al-Athîr gives the number of Franks expelled from the town as 60,000.

The city had surrendered on Friday 2 October 1187, and the departure of the Franks was completed by 10 November. The Muslims celebrated their recovery of the city with special prayers in the restored mosques. According to 'Imad al-Dîn, Saladin wished to purify the city 'of the filth of the hellish Franks'.[55] He did this by turning mosques that had been converted by the Franks into churches back into mosques, by removing the church furnishings and erasing the structural changes made to these

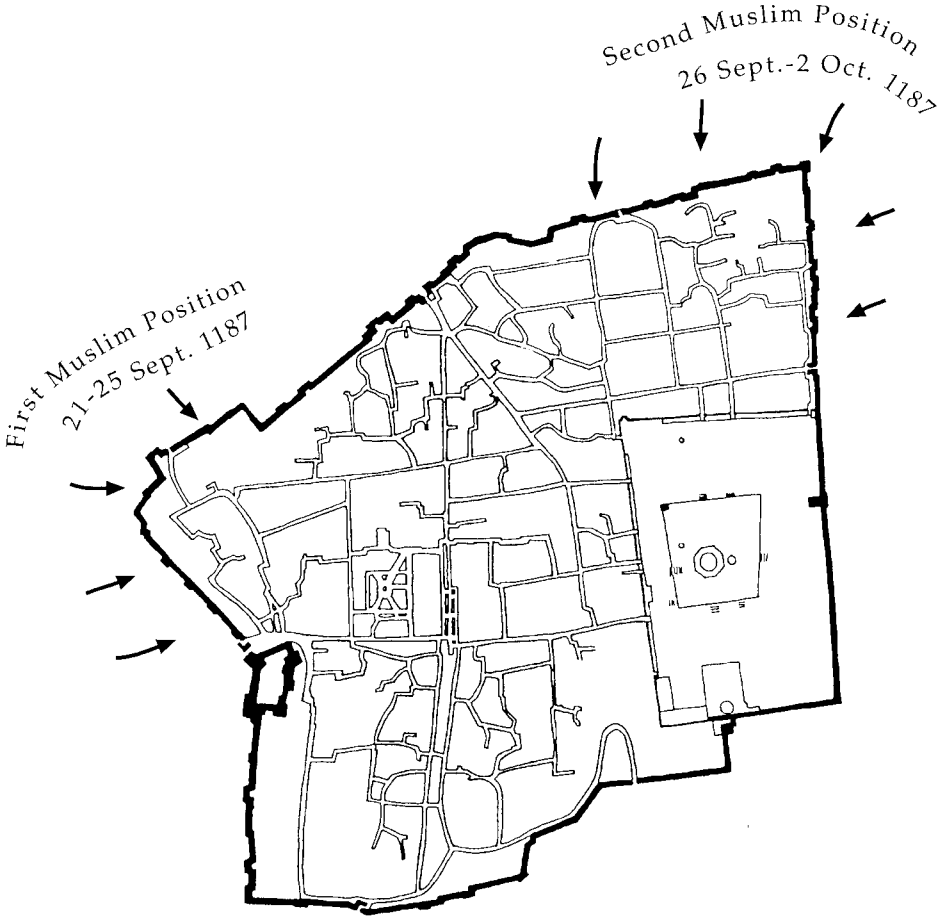


Figure 2.2 Ayyubid Siege of Jerusalem in 1187 (drawn by Dalit Weinblatt).

buildings, and by converting other structures built by the Franks into mosques and madrasas. He tore down the gilded cross from the Dome of the Rock and dismantled many of the Christian structures on the Temple Mount, including the monastery of the Augustinian canons which was located to the north of the *Templum Domini* (Dome of the Rock). The latter was cleansed and most of the changes made to the building by the Franks were removed, including the marble plates placed over the rock to preserve it from being damaged by the pilgrims, frescoes, Latin inscriptions and the altar. However, the Romanesque iron grille around the rock and the iron lampstands were left in place. Churches in the city and outside the walls were damaged or dismantled. Wood, iron, doors and marble flooring were stripped from them.[56] The Holy Sepulchre however, was spared. Some of the emirs had wished to destroy it in order to put an end to Christian pilgrimage, but there was apparently fairly strong opposition to this by those who pointed out that Caliph 'Umar had not done so when

he took the city in the seventh century. It was also noted that it was not the building that the Christians worshipped, but the place of the Cross and the tomb. Rather than destroying the church, they closed it to the general public and a fee of ten bezants was demanded of visitors. On 27 October 1189 Saladin converted the Patriarch's Palace into a hospice for Sufis known as *al-Khankah al-Salâhiyya*.[57] A few years later, on 26 July 1192, he converted the church and convent of St Anne into a school of law, the *al-Madrasa al-Sâlahiyya*.[58] The spire was torn down from the church of the Hospital, which was turned into a college for Shâfi'ites.[59]

In 1191 Saladin carried out repairs to the city walls. He realized that it was imperative to strengthen the walls and prepare the city for the expected attack by Richard I and his army. In this period Saladin resided in the 'house of the priests by the Sepulchre' (possibly the patriarch's palace or the quarters of the Augustinian canons), while he personally supervised the work.[60] The Arab historian, Mujîr al-Dîn (1456–1522) records that for this purpose he brought 2000 Frankish prisoners to the city, and a group of fifty masons were sent from Mosul to dig a ditch around the walls.[61] He restored or rebuilt towers on the wall between St Stephen's Gate and David's Gate. Stone was quarried from the moat for the rebuilding and, to supplement this source, buildings outside the walls, including the church of St Mary of Mount Zion, the upper church of the Sepulchre of the Virgin Mary in Jehoshaphat, and perhaps the church of St Lazarus, were dismantled. From these measures we can conclude that in the east and south of the city, the destruction of the city walls during the siege in 1187 had been extensive. Damage to the fortifications in the south, although not referred to in the descriptions of the siege, would explain the rebuilding of the walls at this time to include Mount Zion within the fortifications once again.[62] This measure was carried out by Saladin's brother, al-Malik al-'Adîl.[63]

Under Ayyubid rule Christian pilgrims were allowed to visit the city, but they were subject to heavy restrictions. They were limited in their movement within the city and were probably forced to pay for entrance to most of the holy sites. However, a truce concluded between Saladin and Richard the Lion Heart in 1192 put an end to the ten bezant fee required on entering the Church of the Holy Sepulchre.[64] In order to control and limit pilgrim traffic into the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, the eastern portal of the main gate was blocked, as was the entrance to Calvary via the external Chapel of the Franks. It may have been during this period that the western entrance from the Street of the Patriarch into the Rotunda was also blocked. According to *La Citez*, pilgrims were forced to use a northern entrance via the canons' quarters and their passage through the city was restricted to a single route from the St Lazarus postern on the northern wall directly to the church.[65] Despite these restrictions, pilgrimage continued and Christians visited the city between 1187 and 1229, though undoubtedly in smaller numbers than under the Franks. There are indications that under Ayyubid rule the economic base of the city was considerably weakened, no doubt a direct result of the decline in the number of Western pilgrims visiting Jerusalem. This economic decline compelled the leadership to supplement the city's revenues with a third of those of Nablus, whose administrator offered to shoulder all the expenses of Jerusalem and of the troops in the city.[66] In these circumstances it is perhaps not surprising to find that there is even some evidence for a partial change of heart on the part of the Muslim leadership regarding Christian pilgrimage and a selective promotion of pilgrimage,

probably among only the more affluent pilgrims. The True Cross, holiest of Christian relics, which had been taken by Saladin at the Battle of Hattin, was apparently brought back to Jerusalem, where it was occasionally shown to visiting pilgrims.[67]

The religious and social condition of the Christian populace – predominantly members of the Eastern Church, who were permitted to remain in the city – was not particularly different from that experienced prior to 1099. The Eastern clergy were restored to the dominant position that they had previously held. The Byzantine Emperor Isaac II (1185–95) negotiated with Saladin to restore the Greek Orthodox clergy in place of the Latins; he received a limited response though it did include some authority in the Church of the Holy Sepulchre and in other churches. At some stage (it is not certain exactly when) a Greek patriarch was reinstated in the city.

In the early thirteenth century the fortifications were strengthened by Saladin's nephew, al-Muʿazzam ʿIsâ, but in 1219 he took the rather extraordinary measure of destroying the walls and, it would seem, many of the buildings of Jerusalem. Al-Mu'azzam ʿIsâ feared that Jerusalem would probably fall to the army of the Fifth Crusade which was at the time making advances in Egypt. He chose to destroy the city's fortifications so that if it fell the Franks would have difficulty in holding it. In the words of one source, the *Rothelin Continuation of William of Tyre*, describing Jerusalem a decade later: '. . . the city was completely open and unprotected. The Saracens had demolished all the fortifications except for the Tower of David.'[68] The destruction of the walls resulted in a panic during which many of the citizens apparently fled to Egypt, Kerak and Damascus.[69]

How extensive was the destruction of the city on this occasion? It appears to have been considerable, including not only the fortifications but also many of the city's buildings. Al-Muʿazzam ʿIsâ's brother, al-Malik al-Kâmil, justified his agreement with Emperor Frederick II Hohenstaufen in 1229, which gave the Franks the entire city except for the Temple Mount, by claiming that he was only handing over 'some churches and some ruined houses'.[70] The covered markets and the royal palace survived but we can perhaps associate with this event the beginning of the destruction of the hospital, although it remained in good enough condition to serve as residence for Frederick II during his short stay in 1229. Moreover, this destruction may be the reason for the very noticeable lack of remains of domestic architecture dating from the twelfth century in Jerusalem.

The thirteenth-century episode

Upon his marriage to Isabel, daughter of John of Brienne in 1225, Emperor Frederick II assumed the title of king of Jerusalem, and committed himself to taking the cross. His delay in doing so, and consequent falling out with the Pope, resulted in excommunication two years later. But in the meantime Frederick received a promise from the Egyptian Sultan al-Malik al-Kâmil (1218–38) that if the emperor aided him in his dispute with his brother, al-Muʿazzam ʿIsâ (the governor of Damascus) al-Malik al-Kâmil would give Frederick the Holy City. Finally, in 1228, Frederick arrived in Acre. By this time al-Muʿazzam ʿIsâ was dead, but al-Malik al-Kâmil could not renege on his promise and the agreement was ratified at Jaffa on 18 February 1229.

The Treaty of Jaffa gave the Franks possession of the entire city except for the Temple Mount.[71] The treaty was valid for a period of ten years. During this period Jerusalem was only partially inhabited, principally around the citadel and near St Stephen's Gate and Zion Gate. The fortifications, other than the citadel, were largely in ruins. According to the terms of the treaty, the Franks could not hold anything outside the walls.[72] Shortly after the treaty was instigated, Muslims from Hebron and Nablus invaded the defenceless city and the residents fled to the Tower of David. However, help arrived from Acre and the Muslims were expelled.

The emperor himself visited Jerusalem on Saturday 17 March, received the keys to the city at David's Gate and took up residence in the Hospital. On the following day he crowned himself King of Jerusalem in the Church of the Holy Sepulchre. He then began efforts to refortify the city, beginning in the area of St Stephen's Gate. However, the Church leaders and Military Orders refused to support his efforts, and he left the city in disgust on 19 March. Jerusalem thus lost a valuable opportunity of refortification.[73]

The tenuous hold of the Franks on the city did not permit very much development in this brief period. Nonetheless, it is possible that some important new buildings were constructed. These perhaps included the Cotton Market, the barbican of St Stephen's Gate and the covered bazaar on the Cardo, south of David Street.[74]

The treaty expired in 1239, and al-Nâsir al-Da'ûd of Kerak attacked the city. It fell, after a siege of 27 days, on 7 December.[75] Al-Nâsir al-Da'ûd destroyed the recently repaired and improved St Stephen's Gate with its bastion. He destroyed a section of the curtain and towers and the citadel, dismantling the keep (the Tower of David). According to the *Rothelin Continuation*:

> Once the Saracens got possession of the Tower of David they immediately put their miners into it and had the whole fortress taken down and razed to the ground. The size of the enormous stones astonished everyone. The masonry was so strongly mortared with lime, sand and cement, and the stones so firmly bound with the lead and huge bands of cramp-iron which fastened the sections together, that tearing it down was very difficult and needed great force.[76]

Subsequently, with the approach of the forces under Thibaut IV, king of Navarre and count of Champagne, al-Nâsir al-Da'ûd departed. However, the Franks regained Jerusalem only in 1241. Frankish control extended to the Temple Mount in 1243, but within a year the city was taken by the Khawarizmians (Turks who had been pushed out of Khawarizm by the Mongols and moved south into the Holy Land in the 1240s), who killed 2,000 of the defenders below the walls. Many were killed in an attempt to reach the coast and others were killed by bandits. Only about 300 made their way safely to Jaffa.[77] For the remaining forty-seven years of deteriorating Frankish rule in the East, Jerusalem was under Muslim control and Acre continued to play the role of administrative capital which it had originally taken up in 1187, and which it had probably not entirely relinquished in 1229.

CHAPTER THREE

ADMINISTRATION

Jerusalem was the administrative capital of the kingdom but it was also a city in its own right. Thus, not only the agents of state government but also those of municipal administration were located here. The king held the dual role of ruler of the kingdom and feudal lord of Jerusalem. The patriarch held a similar double role; on the one hand he was the highest religious authority in the kingdom, and on the other he was also the civic administrator of the Patriarch's Quarter. The main instrument of state government located in Jerusalem, the high court (*Haute Cour*), had a secondary role as an instrument of city government, making local as well as national decisions and passing legislation concerning the population of the entire kingdom as well as legislation appertaining directly to the population of Jerusalem.

Lay institutions and administration

The king of Jerusalem held a position which theoretically was elective but in practice was generally hereditary.[1] The royal palace (*Curia Regis*), which in the second half of the twelfth century was located just south of the Tower of David, served as the administrative centre of government. It was here that the *Haute Cour*, the principal governing body of the kingdom, met when the king was resident in Jerusalem.[2] The most prominent members of the Frankish nobility in the kingdom met here, probably once a year, to deal with important political matters.[3] These were mostly affairs of state, but the *Haute Cour* also had authority over the aristocracy in civil and criminal cases.

There were other institutions which dealt with civic administration, trade, tax collecting, crime and church administration: the court of the burgesses (*Cour des Bourgeois*), the court of the Syrians and the Church court. The court of the burgesses, also known as the court of the viscount or the lower court (*Cour Basse*), had jurisdiction over free commoners. It dealt with most matters of law pertaining to this class, including cases involving capital punishment or loss of limb. Presiding over the court and in charge of municipal administration was the viscount. He may also have held the position of castellan of the Tower of David. His responsibilities included regulating trading practices in the market places and collecting taxes, dues, fines and rents owed to the crown. Rents were paid at fixed times in the year. In 1171, which is

probably representative, they are recorded at Christmas, Easter, the Nativity of St John the Baptist and Michaelmas.[4] As castellan the viscount held one of the three keys to the tax collector's chest for taxes taken between Haifa and Jerusalem.[5] These taxes were kept in the treasury of the Holy Cross in a chest with three locks. The other keys were held by the patriarch and the prior of the canons of the Holy Sepulchre.

The viscount may sometimes have carried out police duties, patrolling the streets at night and arresting criminals.[6] However, although there is no direct evidence for this, these duties may have been passed on to a subordinate. The viscount of Jerusalem was perhaps, as in fourteenth-century Cyprus, aided by an officer known as the *methesep* (equivalent of the Arab *muhtasib*), whose duties included controlling prices in the markets, making certain that no fraudulent activities took place among the shopkeepers and ensuring that there was no shortage of bread, presumably by making occasional inspections of the numerous mills and ovens in the city.[7] For these tasks he employed inspectors and one or two sergeants, who were to detain anyone when necessary and make regular reports to the viscount. They were also authorized to inflict physical punishment on offenders.[8] The viscount also nominated a town crier.[9]

The court of the Syrians (*Cour des Syriens*) was subordinate to the court of the burgesses. It had jurisdiction over the local Christian population and, among other matters, dealt with everyday disputes and religious decisions. In the latter it was apparently unique among lay courts in the kingdom, but this aspect was perhaps less noticeable in Jerusalem than elsewhere, where such courts dealt with a largely non-Christian population. Matters of burgess law and matters which could involve death sentences, were transferred to the court of the burgesses.[10]

The court of the Syrians was established early in the twelfth century when the Syrians requested that the king grant them the privilege of being judged according to the customs of the Syrians, an apparently already existing system of justice.[11] It was headed by a representative known as the *rays*, who was equivalent to the viscount of the court of the burgesses. He was probably appointed by the king, who may have chaired the court himself without actually taking part in the decisions made.[12]

The Church court, operating under canon law, had jurisdiction over all clerics, members of the military orders (the Hospitallers, Templars and leper knights of St Lazarus), regular and secular clergy and friars. It dealt with Church property transactions and had jurisdiction over all cases relating to the Catholic faith, marriage and testament.[13] Certain matters, such as those possibly involving the death sentence or the loss of limb, were dealt with by the court of the burgesses, and matters of dispute between clergy and laity were dealt with jointly by the two courts.

Even with the evolution of civic administrative institutions during the twelfth century, some of the more routine municipal matters remained under the direct jurisdiction of the king. In one recorded case it was the king himself who ordered the cleaning of the streets, a measure which the court of the burgesses was reluctant to support because it had not been consulted.[14] It was by order of Queen Melisende that a mill belonging to the Knights of St Lazarus was removed from the area of the *Porta David*.[15]

The principal administrative officers included the seneschal, constable, marshal, chamberlain and chancellor.[16] These too were state officials who also played a direct role in city administration. Under the king the seneschal officially held the highest post

in the administrative hierarchy. He played an important role in military administration, being in charge of fortresses and the placing of garrisons. He could convene the *Haute Cour* and preside over it. He was master of ceremonies. Primarily, however, he was the financial administrator and was in charge of royal properties and revenues. Under him the central treasury office was probably similar to the *Secrète* of thirteenth-century Cyprus, headed by the *bailli de la Secrète* and staffed by *écrivains* and *receveurs*.[17]

The constable (*comes stabuli*) was head of the army, a position which *de facto* raised him in authority above the seneschal. As in the West, he was probably also responsible for the security of the royal household. The standing of the constable in the Crusader government reached its zenith with a constable named Manasses of Hierges who, through an alliance with the influential Ibelin family, became virtually co-ruler with Queen Melisende when, after the death of King Fulk, she acted as regent for her son Baldwin III. He held this position until 1152, when Baldwin exiled him and took over the reins of power.

The marshal was also a military post. He was the lieutenant of the constable. In England the marshal had a somewhat more intimate relationship with the king than did the constable, as he was responsible for the order and comfort of the court. This was possibly true in the Kingdom of Jerusalem as well. The chamberlain was in charge of the personal finances of the king. This position developed from a time when the king's chamber or bedroom was considered the safest place for keeping the treasury. The chancellor, an ecclesiastic, issued charters through the office of the chancery. There was also a butler, an obscure office, perhaps, as elsewhere, the master dispenser of the cellar, providing wine for the royal household. Other titles we come across include: the *placearius*, apparently an official in the court of the burgesses; the *clericus in Turre David*, who was probably responsible for recording the taxes taken on goods entering the city via the citadel; and the *janitor* [gatekeeper] *Portae David*.[18]

The *Assises of Jerusalem*, a corpus of the various customs and legislative provisions of the kingdom, were inscribed on separate sheets of vellum, sealed by the king, the patriarch and the viscount and kept in a box in the Church of the Holy Sepulchre.[19]

Ecclesiastical institutions and administration

The authority of the Church in Crusader Jerusalem and of the supreme Church leader, the patriarch, was second only to the royal administration and the king. The patriarch of Jerusalem stood at the head of the ecclesiastical hierarchy not only of the city but also of the kingdom of Jerusalem and the entire Latin East.

The Patriarchate

A few days before the Franks entered Jerusalem, Symeon, the Greek patriarch of Jerusalem died. On 1 August 1099, less than a month after the conquest, he was replaced by the first Latin patriarch, Robert of Normandy's chaplain, Arnulf of Chocques. To the chagrin of Arnulf, this took place only after the election of the lay leader, Godfrey of Bouillon. Arnulf had initially entirely opposed the idea of a secular leadership and demanded that a lay ruler should be subordinate to the patriarch of

Jerusalem. He now settled for a position secondary to the lay leader, but by doing so he alienated the Church leadership.[20] Within a short time he was ousted and replaced by Archbishop Daimbert of Pisa who claimed patrimony over the whole of Jerusalem. Indeed, the patriarchal claim extended to overlordship of the whole of the kingdom, as well as the northern principalities.[21]

Although the demand for suzerainty over Jerusalem resurfaced later, the dream of a Church-ruled state in the Holy Land ended with the deposition of Daimbert in 1102.[22] The Church leadership was obliged to settle for the north-west quarter of the city, which had previously been held by the Greek patriarch. Daimbert received the quarter on Christmas 1099, as payment for the aid of the Pisan fleet. In Easter 1100, the patriarch received additional concessions including the Tower of David and the remainder of Jerusalem together with Jaffa, the only port in Crusader hands at the time. There was, however, a condition attached to this grant: that it would only become applicable when two other cities of comparable importance came into the king's hands.

These additional concessions were, in the event, not to be honoured and the patriarch never held more than the north-west quarter of Jerusalem. This was, nonetheless a considerable compensation for the thwarted aspirations of the Church. Located in this quarter, after all, was the focal point of Christian Jerusalem, the Church of the Holy Sepulchre. After the conquest, the Greeks were expelled from the church and Godfrey installed twenty Latin canons in their place.[23] The Church of the Holy Sepulchre served as the nucleus of pilgrimage activity in the city. Markets, hospices, hospitals and other churches were developed around it, bringing the Church both prestige and considerable revenues. The Patriarch's Quarter was defined in the north and west by the city walls, in the east by the market streets on the ancient line of the Cardo, and in the south by David Street. It centred around the Church of the Holy Sepulchre and the Patriarch's Palace, which was situated against the north-west side of the church. Other institutions in this quarter included the patriarch's bathhouse, the pool, *Lacus Balneorum* (the Pool of Hezekiah) and the stables. Against the western city wall, in the open fields near *Porta David*, was the grain market. A pig market was also located in the vicinity, probably in the open area north or east of the grain market.[24] At the north-west corner of the city, just inside the walls, was Tancred's Tower and a postern adjacent to it in the city walls and further east was a second gate, the postern of St Lazarus.

Administration of the quarter was headed by the patriarch himself. He headed the court of law and records office known as the *Curia Patriarchae*. The patriarch was elected by the Augustinian canons of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre. They chose two candidates whom they presented to the king, one of whom he selected and invested.[25] Directly under the patriarch were four metropolitans; the archbishops of Tyre, Caesarea, Nazareth and Petra (Kerak, Krak des Moabites). He also had suffragan bishops with no archbishop over them: until 1168 there were two, Lydda and Bethlehem, to which was then added the new bishopric of Hebron.[26] In addition, the archbishop of Caesarea had a suffragan at Sebastia, the archbishop of Tyre had suffragans at Beirut, Acre, Sidon, and Belinas (Banyas), and the archbishop of Nazareth had a suffragan at Tiberias.

The patriarchs were often involved in political affairs and were not always particularly reputable in their personal life. In 1116 Arnulf came up before the papal

court on charges of carrying on a relationship with a married woman and also with a Saracen woman who bore him a son.[27] Patriarch Heraclius, who was appointed in 1180, has been described as 'a worldly and rather ignorant cleric who openly paraded his mistress, known as the Patriarchess, round Jerusalem '.[28]

The prior and canons of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre

Beyond their status within the Church, the prior and canons of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre were powerful landowners with extensive urban and rural holdings throughout the kingdom. The church received royal grants, including a well-documented endowment of twenty-one villages in the region of the city.[29] It also received extensive properties within Jerusalem itself, including houses, shops, mills and ovens. The influence and power of the canons are clearly evident in the wording of certain transactions recorded in the church archives. An example of this is an agreement between the canons and a certain Syrian resident named Morage Raiz. As he was in debt to the church, Raiz was coerced into accepting harsh terms dictated by the canons, which included the latter having the right, if they should so wish, to build foundation piers for adjacent buildings against his walls, using his walls for vault springers. They could block his doors and windows and were not required to reimburse him should his walls collapse as a result of their work.[30]

A number of churches in the quarter are mentioned in written sources, though not a single one of them (other than the Church of the Holy Sepulchre and the Church of St John the Baptist) is known to have survived. These included St Basil, St John the Evangelist, St Michael the Archangel, St Euthymius, St Catherine, St Nicholas, St Theodore, St Demetrius, St George, St George in the Market, St Mary Major and St Mary Minor (in the Hospitallers' Quarter), St Anne, St Thecla, and St Chariton.

The principal thoroughfares of the quarter were the Street of the Patriarch (*rue le Patriarche*) and the Street of the Holy Sepulchre (*rue del Sepulchre*).

Augustinians

The canons of the Holy Sepulchre adopted the rule of St Augustine. According to William of Tyre, they were forced to do so by Patriarch Arnulf, who had his own reasons for this.[31] Other important monastic institutions also adopted the Augustinian rule. Godfrey installed Augustinian canons in the *Templum Domini*. The rule of St Augustine was adopted by the abbey of the Church of the Ascension on the Mount of Olives and by the abbey of the Church of St Mary on Mount Zion.

Benedictines

The monks of the Benedictine order were established in Jerusalem before the arrival of the Crusaders.[32] Their fortunes varied somewhat under Frankish rule, but the abbey of St Anne received royal patronage and the Benedictines held other important sites in and near Jerusalem, including the abbey and church of the Tomb of the Virgin in Jehoshaphat, the abbey of St Mary Latin and the nunnery of St Mary Major in the Hospitallers' Quarter and the nunnery in nearby Bethany.

The military orders

One of the more remarkable and successful innovations of the Franks in the twelfth century was what Joshua Prawer considered to be one of the few exceptions to a general lack of the 'new and original' among the institutions of the Latin kingdom – the military order.[33] This was fundamentally an organization of knights living according to monastic rule. During the two centuries of Crusader rule the military orders took on new roles and grew immensely in size and wealth. They eventually became the major providers of organized and equipped knights in the Latin East, the possessors of the largest and most important fortresses, and one of the most important sources of revenue entering the kingdom from the West.

The concept behind the establishment of the military orders has its roots in the dilemma that faced Western Christianity in the eleventh century; could Christ's message of peace be reconciled with the shedding of blood? Urban II believed that it could, as long as the blood was that of non-believers. This was a solution which allowed warfare to be seen as a religious act and participation in a crusade against the infidels as an act of penance. It is not hard to conceive how such an idea would lead to the establishment of organizations of warrior-monks.

This development was supported early on by one of the most influential churchmen of the twelfth century, Bernard of Clairvaux, who wrote an apologia for the newly founded Templar order, *In Praise of the New Knighthood*, which extolled the protection of people and the defence of the Holy Places within the framework of religious life. The principal obstacle to the creation of an organization which was founded on the bipolarity of warfare and religious life lay in the canon laws forbidding clerics from taking up arms. This was overcome by distinguishing between those of the order who were chaplains and the actual knights: laymen who maintained a religious life within the framework of the organization but were not themselves clerics. The way was now open for the establishment of organizations which could combine warfare and welfare.

It was in Jerusalem that the two great military orders, the Knights of the Hospital of St John and the Knights of the Temple, were founded. Later the leper hospital in Jerusalem became the Order of the Knights of St Lazarus. It is difficult to overstate the importance of the role played by these institutions in the life of the city. If the revival of pilgrimage was the most significant move taken to revitalize Jerusalem in the first half of the twelfth century, it was in no small part the role played by the military orders that brought about this revival. By making the roads less hazardous the Templars promoted travel within the Holy Land. By establishing hospitals and lodgings and providing food, the Hospitallers looked after the basic needs of the visitors.

The Hospitaller Order of St John

The origins of the Hospitaller Order go back to a hospital founded by Amalfitan merchants in the eleventh century (*c.* 1070) or perhaps even further back to the establishment by Abbot Probus (under the instructions of Gregory the Great) of a pilgrims' hospice for Latins in AD 603. Monks of the Benedictine church of St Mary Latin ran the hospital. In the early years of Crusader rule, during which it was under

the leadership of the highly regarded Gerard, the hospital became independent of St Mary Latin; in a Bull issued by Pascal II in 1113, it was recognized as a partially independent institution.[34] The second Grand Master, Raymond of Le Puy (1120–60), was responsible for the transformation of the hospital into a military order in 1130 after the fashion of the Order of the Temple. Raymond drew up the rule on which all subsequent statutes and ordinances were based. He obtained ecclesiastical and royal patronage and grants including the exemption of payment of tithes on ecclesiastical properties. In 1143 Pope Celestine II granted the Hospitallers jurisdiction over the hospital of St Mary of the Germans.[35] The rule of the Hospitallers was confirmed by Pope Eugenius III (1145–53).

Although the Hospitallers' compound was situated within the Patriarch's Quarter, it seems to have had a degree of autonomy not only from royal but also from ecclesiastical jurisdiction.[36] This was doubtless the cause of friction between the Hospitallers and the king or the patriarch. William of Tyre describes such friction during the patriarchate of Fulcher of Angoulême (1146–55). During this period the Hospitallers seem to have built their new hospital which, in the words of William, was 'far higher and more costly than the church which had been consecrated by the precious blood of our Savior . . .'.[37] The dispute developed into an outright clash between the patriarch and the Hospitallers, during which the Hospitallers rang all their bells to annoy the patriarch when he gave a sermon in the Church of the Holy Sepulchre.[38] Despite such controversies the Hospitallers in general were well regarded for their military role and charitable works in the city and were considered more attentive to the needs of pilgrims than were the Templars. According to Jacques de Vitry the knights of the Hospital 'abounded in works of mercy, and lived sparingly and austerely themselves, but were kind and open-handed to the poor and sick, whom they used to call their masters'.[39] They seem to have by and large had a better reputation as a charitable institution than did the Templars. According to John of Würzburg the Templars gave 'a considerable amount of alms to the poor in Christ, but not a tenth part of that which is done by the Hospitallers'.[40]

The Order of the Knights of the Temple

In 1119 (or 1120) the Order of the Knights of the Temple was established in Jerusalem by two knights, Hugh of Payns and Godfrey of St Omer.[41] In 1128 Pope Honorius gave the order its rule. From 1119 the Master of the Temple in Jerusalem and the seneschal of the order resided in the *Templum Salomonis* (in the southern wing of what was then still the royal palace). The Master stood at the head of the order. The seneschal was second-in-command, and the marshal was next in the line of command and was the supreme military commander. Until the fall of Jerusalem the hierarchy of the Templars included a commander of the city of Jerusalem, who was in charge of the protection of pilgrims on the route between Jerusalem and the Jordan River.[42] He was also responsible for the health and well-being of the brothers and had the additional task, or privilege of the protection and transporting of the True Cross. For these duties he had a permanent escort of ten knights.

Together with the Hospitallers, the Order of the Temple played an important part in providing the Frankish states with well-equipped, highly trained knights. As

defenders of travellers on the roads, the Templars played a vital role in facilitating the passage of pilgrims on the road from the coast to Jerusalem and from Jerusalem to the Jordan and to other pilgrimage sites.[43]

The Order of the Knights of St Lazarus

In the eyes of medieval Christianity the leper, lowest of the low, was also closest to God. Thus the care of lepers was considered to be an act of profound faith and humility. The leper hospital at Jerusalem had a long history prior to the Crusader period. While its origins as a military order are obscure, the leper hospital of St Lazarus may have had its beginnings in the region of Jerusalem.[44] The hospital was founded by St Basil outside the walls of Caesarea in the late fourth century, but there may have been a lepers' hospital outside the walls of Jerusalem as early as the third century.[45] The sixth-century Pilgrim of Piacenza referred to lepers using the waters of the Siloam Pool, which they believed had medicinal value.[46] In the period after the establishment of Muslim rule in Jerusalem, the lepers were housed in St Stephen's Church; according to an anonymous text, the *Commemoratorium*, about fifteen lepers were housed there in *c.* 808.[47] The leper hospital survived the period of Muslim rule and at the time of the First Crusade was one of three hospitals in the city. St Mary Latin, St John the Almoner and St Lazarus were collectively known as the Hospital of Jerusalem and were under the administration of Gerard, the founder of the Hospitallers.[48] An early reference to the leper hospital in the Crusader period is in a fragment surviving from the cartulary of the Order of St Lazarus which mentions the 'leprosis ecclesie Sancti Lazari que est in Jerusalem.'[49] A reference to the location of the hospital is found in another fragment dating to 1150 which refers to the brothers of St Lazarus 'extra muros Jerusalem'.[50] An anonymous geography, which was written in 1157 but which apparently derived from a work dating to between 1128 and 1137, gives what may be the earliest evidence relating to the location of this institution in the twelfth century. It refers to 'a dwelling for lepers' located between the Tower of Tancred and St Stephen's Gate.[51]

Under the Crusaders the hospital became a military order and followed the rule of St Augustine. The history of the leper hospital as a military order is difficult to follow. Malcolm Barber suggests that the first discernible reference to it is in another of the surviving fragments of the cartulary of the Order of St Lazarus.[52] This fragment, dated to 1142, relates that King Fulk, Queen Melisende and their son Baldwin conceded to the church and convent of St Lazarus of the *miselli* (infirm) an estate which was previously the property of Baldwin of Caesarea, located 'between the Mount of Olives and the Red Cistern on the road which leads to the River Jordan'.[53] The acquisition of properties beyond the hospital in Jerusalem, which also included a cistern granted to them by an Armenian monk and the purchase of thirteen carucates of land near Bethlehem, suggest that the leper hospital was undergoing expansion. Despite this process, which reflects similar acquisitions and expansion by the larger orders, there is no evidence for the lepers being involved in military activity at this time. Such evidence comes only much later, in the mid-thirteenth century, when the order was involved in the fighting at La Forbie in 1244, in the Egyptian campaign of Louis IX in 1250 and in various later battles. The Order of St Lazarus had an important role in Crusader Jerusalem, where leprosy (or more accurately, the various skin diseases

which in the Middle Ages went under the label 'leprosy') was rife.[54] Lay knights and members of the other military orders who contracted leprosy were expected to join the Order of St Lazarus. The rule of the Temple required this of its knights although it did not enforce it on them.[55]

The leper hospital was supported by the barons and had royal patronage including King Fulk, Queen Melisende, Baldwin III and Amaury, whose son, the future Baldwin IV, was himself a leper.

CHAPTER FOUR

EVENTS IN THE LIFE OF THE CITY

The restoration of Christian rule in Jerusalem was accompanied by a renewed and open display of Christian worship which, under the Muslims, had been restricted and confined to places of worship. A number of festivals were celebrated in Jerusalem, some of them accompanied by processions (Figure 4.1), others by prayers held in the churches. Easter brought great numbers of pilgrims to Jerusalem to take part in the festivities which included the procession from Bethany.[1] Before sunrise on Palm Sunday the patriarch and the clergy from the various churches, accompanied by the treasurer of the Holy Sepulchre carrying the True Cross, gathered at Bethany. Meanwhile, residents of the city and pilgrims carrying palm and olive branches gathered outside the *Templum Domini*. After blessing the palm and olive branches, one of the prelates would lead the procession from the Temple Mount via Jehoshaphat's Gate to the Valley of Jehoshaphat, where the two groups would converge and follow the patriarch to the Golden Gate, which was opened to permit their re-entry into the city. The procession concluded with the circling of the Cross in the *Templum Salomonis* and prayers held outside the *Templum Domini*.[2]

Ceremonies were also held on Good Friday and Easter Sunday. At Easter the ceremony of the Holy Fire took place in the Rotunda of the Holy Sepulchre. Prayers also took place in different churches in the city and the fire, according to Theoderich, could appear in the *Templum Domini* or St John's Church rather than in the Church of the Holy Sepulchre. Theoderich also noted that the time of the arrival of the Fire could vary.[3] After the fire appeared, bells were rung to herald mass in all the churches of the city.[4] According to the Russian Abbot Daniel of Kiev, the king took part in this important event in the liturgical calendar. At the time of his visit, possibly in 1107, Baldwin I attended the ceremony and played a prominent role in the ritual.[5]

Another significant date in the calendar of Crusader Jerusalem was 15 July, the anniversary of the conquest of the city, known as the Feast of the Liberation of Jerusalem. William of Tyre noted that a general decree was issued stating that the day should be 'sacred and set apart'.[6] On the day before, 14 July, the celebrations commenced at the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, including prayers, psalms and appropriate readings recited at Vespers, Matins and Lauds.[7] The next day, after Prime, the patriarch led a procession from the Church of the Holy Sepulchre to the *Templum Domini* where prayers were held to the south, opposite the entrance to the *Templum*

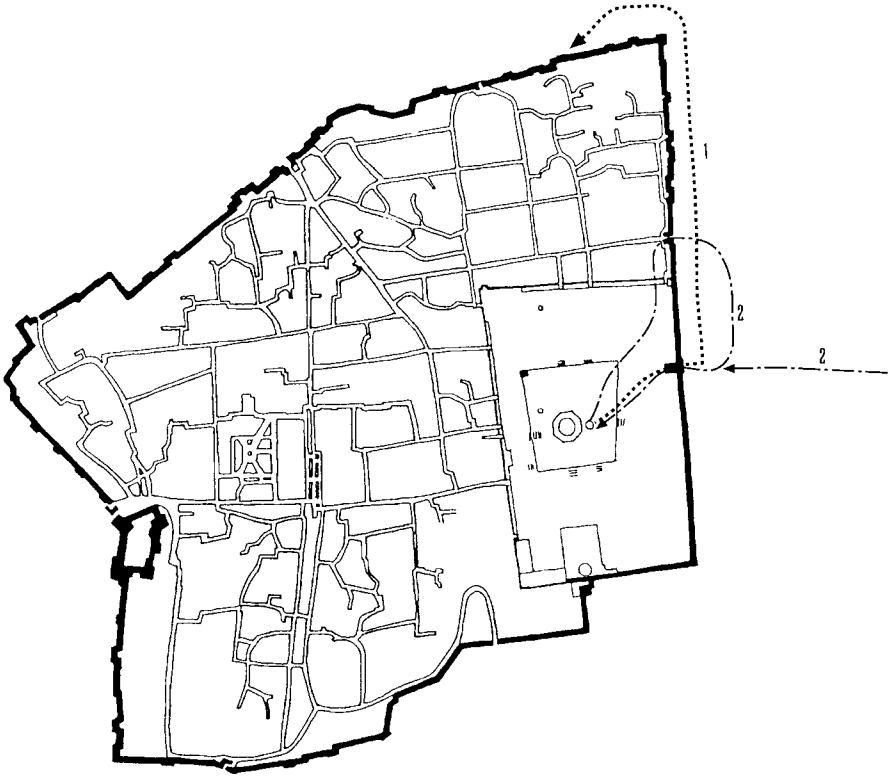


Figure 4.1 Route of processions (drawn by Dalit Weinblatt).

Salomonis. The procession then exited the city and continued to the place outside the *Porta Aurea* where those crusaders who fell during the siege of Jerusalem were buried. Finally, the procession made its way to the place on the northern wall where the Crusader army had entered the city in 1099 and which was marked by a wooden cross.[8] Here the patriarch gave a sermon and the procession concluded with prayers.

The fiftieth anniversary of the conquest in 1149 had additional significance. The city also celebrated the official completion of the new Church of the Holy Sepulchre. This was commemorated by a special mass held in the new church. John of Würzburg writes: 'they celebrate that day after the renewal of the consecration in divine service by singing at the first mass, "*Letare Iherusalem*", and at the high mass of dedication, "*Terribilis est locus*" '.[9] The ceremony probably took place in the presence of King Baldwin III and Queen Melisende.[10]

A solemn event was observed four days later. According to John of Würzburg, on 19 July the memory of Duke Godfrey was commemorated with prayers held in the Church of the Holy Sepulchre and with the 'plenteous giving of alms'.[11] Godfrey of Bouillon was a popular figure in Crusader tradition, honoured not only for his leading role in the conquest and foundation of the kingdom but also for his pious and devout character. It was only natural that a day marking his memory should be celebrated by acts of charity.

Coronations were important events in the life of the city. The first coronations did not take place in Jerusalem. Duke Godfrey was not actually crowned and did not take the title of king, and Baldwin I was crowned in the Church of the Nativity in Bethlehem. So too, it would appear, was Baldwin II at Christmas 1119, although he was anointed and consecrated in a ceremony that took place earlier, on 14 April 1118, possibly in the Church of the Holy Sepulchre.[12] However, from then on until the coronation of Sibylla and Guy in the summer of 1186 all of the Frankish kings were crowned in the Church of the Holy Sepulchre.[13] In the thirteenth century only Frederick II was crowned in Jerusalem.

Something is known of the form of the coronation ceremony and of the members of the royal household that took part in it. The crown jewels were brought from where they were kept, probably either in the Church of the Holy Sepulchre or in the citadel. The keys were in the hands of the patriarch and the Masters of the Temple and the Hospital.[14] The seneschal was master of ceremonies and carried the sceptre. The chamberlain dressed the king in the palace and, bearing the royal sword, headed the procession from the palace to the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, where the crowning ceremony took place. The chamberlain handed the king the crown, sceptre and other regalia.[15] The constable held the royal banner during the ceremony passing it to the marshal afterwards when he helped the king to mount his horse. A great feast for the attending nobility followed, provided by the city's burgesses. During the feast the marshal held the banner behind the king. The seneschal served the king except for the wine which was served by the chamberlain in the king's golden cup. The seneschal also chose burgesses of Jerusalem to wait on the king.[16] Where the feast took place is not clear, but it was apparently not at the palace, as it is recorded that after the feast the constable escorted the king to the palace.[17]

The coronation ceremony and regalia of the Crusader kings were influenced by those of the Byzantine court. Bianca Kühnel has noted the similarity of the Crusader insignia as they appear on Crusader seals to those used in the Byzantine ceremony, and a description of the coronation of the first Frankish emperor, Baldwin I, who was crowned at Constantinople on 16 May 1204, is not unlike that described above.[18]

Another ceremony possibly held in Jerusalem was the investiture of the Frankish leaders. William of Tyre refers to such a ceremony that took place at Christmas 1099, during which the patriarch granted lands in the name of the Church to both Godfrey and Bohemond.[19]

Royal weddings were also significant occasions in the life of the city, as were royal funerals. Godfrey of Bouillon fell ill in Caesarea in early June 1100. After lying ill for five weeks in Jerusalem, he died on 18 July 1100. Five days of mourning preceded the burial. We have few details of the burial ceremony. A precedent was established when Godfrey was buried before the Chapel of Adam beneath Calvary and this was followed in all subsequent royal burials until the fall of the city in 1187. Baldwin I died on 2 April 1118 in al-Arish (*Laris*) in northern Sinai. His body reached Jerusalem on Palm Sunday. The funeral cortège carrying the dead king ran, by chance, into the Palm Sunday procession led by the patriarch as it descended the Mount of Olives into the Valley of Jehoshaphat. Baldwin was buried alongside Godfrey in front of the Chapel of Adam.[20] The next king, Baldwin II, fell gravely ill in the summer of 1131 and had himself carried to the top of the patriarch's palace, in order that he might die close to the Lord's

sepulchre. On 21 August he was interred with royal ceremony to the north of the unction stone. Fulk died near Acre on 10 November 1143. His cortège was met by the clergy and the people of the city when it arrived in Jerusalem and was carried to the church of the Holy Sepulchre.[21] Baldwin III died far from Jerusalem in Beirut on 10 February 1163. His body was carried back to be buried alongside the other kings. Amaury's death took place on 11 July 1174 and he was buried beside his brother, Baldwin III. Baldwin IV died after long suffering from his leprosy in March 1185 and the child king, Baldwin V, died in the summer of 1186, less than two years after ascending the throne. Although there are no detailed descriptions of these burial ceremonies, one can assume that they were carried out with solemn pomp and attended by the royal family, church dignitaries and representatives of the nobility.

Occasionally other special events of national import were celebrated in Jerusalem with processions. Amongst these were the occasions when the Franks returned victorious from battle. Fulcher of Chartres records that on 29 March 1123, after the Frankish victory at the Battle of Azotas (Ashdod), the patriarch returned to the city with the True Cross: 'It was received outside the Gate of David by a glorious procession and conducted with the highest honours into the Basilica of the Lord's Sepulchre.'[22]

The relic of the True Cross was perhaps the most important object of veneration in the kingdom. It was used in the coronation ceremony and in processions on feast days, and was generally carried into battle.[23] According to tradition the cross was discovered by Constantine's mother, Helena, in a cave to the east of the Sepulchre, together with the nails and hammer used in the crucifixion and the crown of thorns. It was kept in Constantine's church until AD 614, when the Persian invaders took it away. Emperor Heraclius restored it to Jerusalem in 628. As before it was kept in the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, sealed in a chest.[24] In 1099, possibly in early August, part of the cross was discovered in a silver case in a secluded corner of the church.[25] It was found, according to William of Tyre, by a Syrian who had seen it hidden there some time earlier.[26] The Crusaders housed it in a reliquary which Ibn al-Athîr described as made of 'gold adorned with pearls and gems'.[27] Theoderich described the reliquary as a large cross in which a piece of the Lord's cross was inserted.[28] He notes that a large part of the wood of the True Cross was housed in a gold and silver case.[29] It was kept by the Syrians in a chapel dedicated to the Holy Cross which was located towards the north (on the left-hand side of the church).[30] A second large piece was kept in a chapel further east. This piece was covered in gold, silver and jewels and kept in a beautiful case.[31] An official known as the *scriniarius* (relics keeper) was appointed to guard the holy relics.[32]

Because of its importance, it is not surprising to find the True Cross playing a prominent role in the negotiations between Saladin and the Franks after the fall of Crusader Jerusalem in 1187. Saladin himself offered Richard the Cross as part of his terms of settlement in February 1192, and the envoy of the Byzantine Emperor Isaac II made a request for the Cross in his own attempts at reaching a treaty with Saladin in May.[33] Nothing came of these discussions. The True Cross remained in Muslim hands, was occasionally shown to pilgrims visiting Jerusalem and eventually disappeared altogether.[34]

CHAPTER FIVE

EDUCATION AND INTELLECTUAL LIFE

Evidence for the presence of institutions of higher learning in Crusader Jerusalem is very slim. There were obviously some such establishments in the city, but they may not have amounted to very much, especially when compared to contemporary institutions in the West. Centres of theological study were certainly to be found in the city, such as the cathedral school of the Holy Sepulchre where one of the masters, and possibly the head of the school, was the future cardinal John of Pisa. Under him studied perhaps the best-known intellectual of the kingdom, the future chronicler and archbishop William of Tyre. He was author of the most important of the contemporary histories of the Latin East, *A History of Deeds Done Beyond the Seas*, and of a lost work on the history of oriental rulers, both written under the patronage of King Amaury. But even under such a distinguished personage as John, institutions of this type must have been of limited quality, cut off as they were from the intellectual scene in the West. Benjamin Kedar goes so far as to state that it was impossible to pursue higher learning in Jerusalem's cathedral school, or elsewhere in the Frankish Levant.[1] Probably, therefore, most local intellectuals, like William of Tyre, spent several years of study in institutions in the West. Amongst the few noted intellectuals of the Holy Land were clergy from Jerusalem, such as Rogero Fretel, who wrote a treatise on the Holy Places, and two Augustinian priors, Achard and Geoffroi, who wrote poems on the history of the *Templum Domini*.[2]

In view of the presence of several hospitals in Jerusalem, one of them very large with a medical staff numbering around 143 and up to 2,000 patients, we can speculate on the existence of some type of institute tutoring in the art of medicine.[3] This may have been a small medical college possibly attached to the hospital itself.[4] No doubt medicine and other disciplines were also privately taught, and there is definite evidence for tutoring in Jerusalem by philosophers, physicians and those learned in other fields who had studied in the West or in the neighbouring countries.[5]

While apprenticeship to many trades could be on the level of a personal tutoring in the shop or workshop, some disciplines were certainly taught in schools. This would have been the case for manuscript writing and illumination, sculpture, icon and fresco painting and other fine arts. Unfortunately, other than the manuscript illumination carried out in the scriptorium of the Holy Sepulchre which has been discussed by Hugo Buchthal and Jaroslav Folda (see below, pp. 194, 197) the sources, and consequently modern historians are silent on these matters.

CHAPTER SIX

THE POPULATION

As already noted, with the occupation of Jerusalem in 1099 and the elimination of the Muslim and Jewish residents, the city remained almost uninhabited.[1] Most of the Crusaders left the city almost immediately after its capture and in the entire area under Frankish control the Crusader forces had been severely reduced.[2] The people remaining in Jerusalem probably consisted of a few soldiers, some Eastern Christians and members of the Latin clergy.

Conditions in the city were desperate. William of Tyre describes thieves taking advantage of the empty cities in the kingdom at this time.[3] The demographic problems, however, were difficult to alleviate, and a decade and a half later conditions showed little sign of improvement.[4] By the middle of the twelfth century, however, the situation had significantly improved. Sources mention communities of settlers from the West and East. John of Würzburg gives us an extensive and enlightening list which clearly portrays the cosmopolitan atmosphere of the city: 'For there are Greeks, Bulgarians, Latins, Germans, Hungarians, Scots, Navarrese, Bretons, English, Franks, Ruthenians, Bohemians, Georgians, Armenians, Jacobites, Syrians, Nestorians, Indians, Egyptians, Copts, Capheturici, Maronites and very many others [in the city].'[5] The recovery of Jerusalem was achieved through the measures already mentioned, including the colonization of the north-eastern quarter of the city with families of Eastern Christians brought from Transjordan, attracting commerce to Jerusalem and improving the lot of the citizens by abolishing taxes on certain goods brought by merchants into the city, attracting pilgrims and also putting an end to the common practice of absentee landlordship.[6] But perhaps above all else, what rejuvenated the city was the development of pilgrimage, which involved the identification or re-identification of pilgrimage sites, the rebuilding of churches, particularly the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, and the construction of hospices, hospitals, markets, money exchanges and other institutions aimed at reviving the pilgrimage movement, which was in many ways the medieval equivalent of the tourist industry. These combined measures proved to be effective. It has been estimated that Jerusalem eventually had around 30,000 residents, equal to the population of the two main port cities, Acre and Tyre, and comparable to the populations of Pisa, Florence and London.[7]

We get an interesting portrayal of the physical appearance of the population of Crusader Jerusalem from the accounts of 'Anonymous Pilgrims'.[8] According to these

sources, the Franks were bareheaded and clean-shaven, the Greeks grew their beards long, the Syrians trimmed their beards and the Georgians wore their hair and beards long. The latter wore tonsures: those of the clergy round and those of the laymen square.[9] Unfortunately this is about the most detailed description of the dress of Jerusalemites in the Frankish period. We can add to this description the appearance of members of the military orders and the form of their dress, described, among other places, in the rules of the orders themselves. By a Papal grant of 1145 the Templars were permitted to wear a long, belted, white hooded mantle (like that worn by the Cistercians). It had a red cross on the left breast. According to the more detailed description in their rule, the brothers wore habits of white, black or brown and white cloaks signifying purity and chastity. The dress was unadorned with finery such as fur. The Hospitallers wore a black mantle (like the Benedictine and Augustinian habits) decorated with a white cross on the breast. The leper knights of St Lazarus wore a black and white robe with a green cross. Because of the heat, in summer the Templars were permitted to wear white linen shirts. On their feet they wore boots. Pointed shoes and shoe laces were forbidden, from which we can surmise that pointed, laced shoes were fashionable among the secular population.[10] The Hierarchial Statutes of the order, believed to date from around 1165, mention other items of dress such as squirrel-hair robes that the Master could give as gifts to noble friends of the order.

Classes

The population was divided by class distinctions into nobles and burgesses. There were internal divisions within these classes. The burgesses (*burgenses*) included labourers and the poor, who are scarcely heard of but no doubt formed a considerable part of the citizenry of the town.

The Latin nobility had its own hierarchy consisting of the high nobility, the baronage and lesser knights (*chevaliers*), divisions based primarily on economic station and family origins.[11] The lesser knights formed the majority of the urban knightly class. Prawer called them 'simple salaried warriors'.[12] Many of them were poorer than the commoners but retained their superior status and the privileges that went with it.

The burgesses were a well-organized class of non-noble tradesmen and property owners (mainly urban property or small holdings nearby held in burgage tenure), by and large of peasant origin, former serfs who in the East quickly adapted to urban life. They had few obligations in comparison to non-noble townsmen in the West. These consisted of military service, particularly the defence of the city but also participation in military campaigns, and the payment of a nominal rent.

Burgesses in Jerusalem were involved in the typical urban occupations. There were tanners, smiths, bakers, butchers, cooks, brewers, and various other craftsmen and vendors.[13] There were no guilds in the Latin East, but there were organizations that perhaps approached them, such as the goldsmiths' corporation which is referred to in a charter of 1135.[14]

Within the burgesses was a lower class consisting of poor traders and people without property. There were no Latin serfs in the East, although parallels can be drawn

between the serfs of Europe and the non-Christian population of the kingdom. However, this has little relevance in a discussion of Crusader Jerusalem, where the non-Christian population was almost non-existent. There are, however, references and hints to the existence of what may have been a fairly substantial poor class. In written sources there are occasionally allusions to their presence in twelfth-century Jerusalem. First, a certain Germain is recorded as having built fountains in the city to provide water for the city's poor.[15] Second, this same Germain gathered labourers in a square in the city for one of his philanthropical projects.[16] These labourers represent part of the city's unemployed who were reduced to seeking work on a daily basis. Third, a large number of children in the city were abandoned by their parents and had to be looked after by the Hospitallers.[17] Fourth, after the city was occupied by Saladin in 1187, a fairly large number of the citizens, perhaps as many as 20,000, could not afford to ransom themselves though the ransom demanded by Saladin was not extremely high: ten bezants for a man, five for a woman and one for a child.[18]

Communities

Apart from social status, the citizens were divided into various religious and ethnic communities. Like John of Würzburg, the Anonymous Pilgrim lists Franks (Latins), Greeks, Syrians, Armenians, Georgians, Jacobins (Jacobites) and Nestorians. The Latins included Germans, Spaniards, Gauls, Italians and other European nations.[19] Relationships between the ruling Franks and the other Christian communities varied. The Latins permitted the Eastern Christians to retain their churches, with one exception – the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, from which all Eastern Christians were expelled immediately after the conquest in 1099. When the new church was opened in 1149, Armenians and Jacobites were permitted to occupy the old Byzantine chapels on the western side of the southern courtyard.[20]

Intermarriage at all social levels improved the relationship between the Latin and Eastern Christian communities.[21] Although distinctions were retained, Hans Eberhard Mayer notes that the bourgeois Franks made certain inroads in the twelfth century, as for example in affairs of state such as waiting on the king during the coronation feast or serving as witnesses to royal charters.[22] This was not the case with the Greeks and Syro-Christians of Jerusalem.

Franks (Latins)

The term 'Frank' does not necessarily mean someone originating in France or even in francophone lands. It is a generic term (*al-firanj* in its Arabic form), which was applied by Easterners in the Crusader period when referring to anyone coming from the West. Thus it could be used to refer to a German, an Italian or a Scandinavian.[23] Germans were a prominent group among the pilgrims in the Middle Ages. This was true not only in the Crusader period. In the Fatimid period, in one extreme case in 1065, a single convoy of 12,000 pilgrims from Germany and Holland travelled to Jerusalem.[24]

Italians, so prominent a part of the Frankish community in the larger coastal towns, were hardly represented in Jerusalem. Other communities are known only through

brief references in documents. These include Hungarians, Spaniards and other nationalities.

Greeks

The Greeks, also known as Chalcedonians, formed the largest Christian community in Jerusalem prior to the Crusader period. Under Frankish rule they were ousted from their position of domination and were ejected from the Church of the Holy Sepulchre by the Latin patriarchs, Arnulf and Daimbert. However, the Greek Orthodox community retained a strong presence in the Holy City throughout the twelfth century and Greek clergy were eventually reinstated in the church.[25]

Syrian Christians (Suriani)

This is a generic term used by the Franks to describe Eastern Christians who spoke Arabic but used Greek in their liturgy and followed the Orthodox rite. For the latter reason they were also known as Melchites: members of the King's or Imperial Church. Prior to the arrival of the Crusader army in 1099 most of the Syrian Christian community had been expelled from the city together with the Greeks, because the Fatimids doubted their loyalty in the face of the imminent Christian assault. Indeed, participation of the Eastern Christians in the defence of the city during the siege was probably only half-hearted if it existed at all.[26] Nonetheless, it seems that many of them received no better treatment from the conquering army than did the Jews and Muslims.[27] Later the situation improved, and during the period of Frankish rule the Syrian communities in the kingdom were the recipients of the favourable regard of the Frankish leadership. According to John of Ibelin, they requested and received the privilege of being ruled by their own customs and administered in their own courts.[28]

Monophysites

Most of the non-Latin Christian community in Crusader Jerusalem belonged to the different Monophysite sects who spoke Arabic and used Syriac (Western Aramaic) in their liturgy. These included Jacobites, Abyssinians, Armenians, Copts and Georgians.

The Jacobites were one of the largest minority groups of Christians in Jerusalem. This Monophysite sect, named after its founder, Jacob Baradaeus, was centred in the monastery of St Mary Magdalene in the north-east quarter of the city. They were comparatively well favoured by the Franks and the metropolitan of Jerusalem, Ignatius (1125–38), was highly regarded by the Frankish leadership. Baldwin II and Fulk referred to him as 'an angel from heaven'.[29] Some of their customs must have seemed rather strange to the Franks. According to Theoderich, the Jacobites used trumpets on their feast days after the fashion of the Jews.[30]

Armenians were present in Jerusalem from at least the fifth century, and possibly earlier. The Armenian community fared better than other Eastern sects under Frankish rule. This was in part due to their strong and independent noble class who were treated by the Franks as equals.[31] Political marriages were arranged between the Frankish leadership and Armenian nobility; for example Arda, the wife of Baldwin I, was from

Armenia. However, there was another very expedient political reason behind the high regard in which the Armenians were held. Only recently expelled from their homeland around Lake Van, the Armenians had, since the late eleventh century, relocated around the Taurus and Anti-Taurus mountains and in Cilicia (the kingdom of Lesser or Cilician Armenia). Here they had very rapidly (by the middle of the twelfth century) become an important regional power. As such they formed a physical barrier against Byzantine aspirations to retake Antioch from the Franks.[32]

The Armenian community in Jerusalem had earlier been located in different parts of the city. These probably included the area to the north-west, outside the city walls, which is now occupied by the Musrara neighbourhood, the part of Mount Zion within the present city walls where the Armenian Quarter is now located, and an area on the summit of the Mount of Olives. By the Crusader period it seems that the areas outside the city walls were no longer occupied by them, but they retained their quarter in the south-west of the city. Prawer suggests that at the time of the visit of the Armenian Catholicos Gregory Bahlavouni to Jerusalem in 1142, to participate in the Second Council of Jerusalem held on Mount Zion, the Armenians received permission to build a hospice near their church, the Cathedral of St James, to accommodate Armenian pilgrims.[33] At the same time, or perhaps two decades later when the Armenian King Thoros II (1152–68) visited the court of Amaury in Jerusalem, the cathedral may have been enlarged. The Armenians had their own bishop in Jerusalem, whose authority extended beyond the cathedral and adjacent hospice to include other properties in the city, such as the chapel of St Mary in the Church of the Holy Sepulchre.

A third important Armenian to arrive in Jerusalem around this time was the patriarch of Alexandria, who fled there in 1172 following Saladin's occupation of Egypt in 1168. He brought with him seventy-five codices which formed the foundation of the library of St James. Prawer suggests that he may have settled in St Sarkis (Abu Sirjah), a monastery he himself founded outside the city in the region of Bethany, in order not to come into conflict with the existing Armenian leadership in Jerusalem.[34] However, this does not appear to have been successful; he died soon afterwards, and it was believed that the Armenian bishop was behind his death. He was buried in the cathedral of St James.

There were also Copts in Jerusalem. Theoderich refers to them as Nubians (*Nubiani*).[35] Another minority group, also resident in the Holy Land from quite early times, was the Georgian community. In the Crusader period they were located in the Church of the Holy Cross outside the city to the west, which predated the Crusader period and was restored in the twelfth century. Here, according to tradition, grew the tree from which the cross on which Christ was crucified was made.

Muslims and Jews

After the Frankish conquest of Jerusalem and the expulsion of the surviving defenders, Baldwin banned non-Christians from returning to the city.[36] Despite this injunction some Muslims, along with Jews, returned to the city during the twelfth century; they are recorded on occasion as merchants, pilgrims or expert craftsmen, and perhaps also as inmates of the hospital of St John. In 1118 Muslims were among the mourners at the funeral of Baldwin I when the king's body was carried into the city on Palm

Sunday.[37] Also, as already noted, Muslim merchants are mentioned in an edict of 1120 which remitted taxes on certain goods brought into the city.[38] Jewish pilgrims are recorded during the twelfth century.[39] Although the Spanish Rabbi Abraham Hiyya (*c.* 1120–29) wrote, 'Not even one Jew is to be found in Jerusalem in our own days,' one Jew is recorded to have settled in the city at least as early as 1146, and by around 1170 the Jewish traveller Benjamin of Tudela mentions Jewish dyers living near the Tower of David.[40] Rabbi Petachia of Ratisbon, who visited the city between 1174 and 1187, mentions a single Jewish dyer named Rabbi Abraham who was required to pay the king a heavy tax for permission to remain in the city.[41] Possible additional evidence for the presence of Jews and Muslims in Crusader Jerusalem comes from the cartulary of the Order of the Hospitallers and from an anonymous document located in Munich, which deals with the hospital of St John and which has been interpreted as suggesting that non-Christians were treated in the hospital.[42]

With the Muslim recovery of the city in 1187 there was a revival of the Jewish community in Jerusalem, and the Spanish Jewish poet al-Harizi, who visited the Holy Land around 1217, mentions Jewish settlers from France, the Maghreb and Ascalon.[43] However, when in 1229 the city was reoccupied by the Franks under the terms of the Treaty of Jaffa between Emperor Frederick II and the Egyptian Sultan al-Malik al-Kâmil, the Muslims retained the Temple Mount but the Jews were once again expelled from the city. During this brief Frankish reoccupation a limited agreement was reached which allowed Jewish pilgrims to visit the Holy Places and permitted the residence of a single Jewish dyer.[44] On the other hand, it seems that Muslim residents were able to remain in Jerusalem in this period: al-Malik al-Kâmil requested the presence of a *qâdî* or magistrate to represent the interests of Muslim residents who remained in the city and of Muslim pilgrims.[45] After the Khawarizmian conquest of 1244 the Jewish community was re-established.

PART II

THE PHYSICAL REMAINS OF CRUSADER JERUSALEM

More than 150 years of intensive historical and archaeological research of Crusader Jerusalem have provided us with a fairly detailed picture of the city under Frankish rule. The attention paid to Near Eastern archaeology, mainly by French and British scholars, during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries focused to some extent on the Frankish period. By making known their historic involvement in the region the two great colonial powers could perhaps justify a renewed involvement in modern times. Naturally, Jerusalem, capital of the principal Crusader state, is well represented in these studies.

Many of the large number of works that appear from about the middle of the nineteenth century are of a high standard of scholarship and are accompanied by excellent illustrated material. *The Holy City*, published by George Williams in 1849, contains information on some of the medieval buildings of the city and a useful discussion of the water sources.[1] Edward Robinson's three-volume *Biblical Researches in Palestine*, includes useful descriptions of Crusader remains.[2] In 1864 the Italian Ermete Pierotti published in English translation his two-volume *Jerusalem Explored*, a remarkable work that includes discussions of a considerable number of Crusader buildings: churches, the ruins of the Hospitaller Quarter, the charnel house at Akeldama and a detailed description of the city's water systems.[3] Several important discoveries relating to the Crusader period were published by Charles Clermont-Ganneau. These include his research on the covered market street in the centre of the city and the inscriptions which identify it as the property of St Anne's convent.[4] He also published a detailed study of Frankish tombstones in the cemetery at Mamilla.[5] Charles Warren and Claude Reignier Conder, in the Jerusalem volume of the *Survey of Western Palestine*, presented a number of discussions of the Crusader period remains.[6] The chapter entitled 'The Latin Kingdom' discusses the streets, fortifications and churches, the royal palace, the hospital of the Germans, the Hospital of St John, Solomon's Stables and the charnel house at Akeldama. Conder also described medieval Jerusalem in *The City of Jerusalem*.[7] An article by Conrad Schick, published posthumously in 1902, presents a careful discussion of the remains of the quarter of the Hospitallers of St John in the Muristan.[8] It appeared just as these remarkable remains were destroyed to make way for new buildings. The value of these nineteenth- and early twentieth-century works lies in the high quality of the research and in the

fact that some of the remains discussed in them have not survived to the present time. These publications are often illustrated with drawings and plans of an extremely high quality and, in some instances, with early photographic work.

High standards of research and an interest in the Crusader past continued into the twentieth century and the period of Mandatory rule. Among the studies of this period were various general discussions including the chapter 'Jérusalem a l'époque franque' in *Jérusalem nouvelle* by L.-H. Vincent and F.-M. Abel.[9] This work includes detailed discussions and illustrations of various Crusader period buildings in the city, such as the churches of St James and St Thomas of the Armenians, the Cenacle, the Chapel of the Ascension on the Mount of Olives, St Stephen, St Anne and the Tomb of the Virgin in the Valley of Jehoshaphat.

Joshua Prawer wrote several papers on Jerusalem in the Crusader period. These include general surveys of the Crusader city and studies of Crusader-period epigraphy in Jerusalem and of the lintels from the southern portals of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre.[10] Meron Benvenisti included a chapter on Jerusalem in his *The Crusaders in the Holy Land*.[11] Several short studies of finds from the excavations carried out in the 1970s and 1980s were published by Dan Bahat, Meir Ben-Dov, Magen Broshi and others.[12] Bahat wrote a detailed account of the main features of Crusader Jerusalem entitled: 'Topography and Archaeology: Crusader Period' in *The History of Jerusalem*, and his unpublished PhD thesis, 'The Topography and Toponomy of Crusader Jerusalem', is largely based on documentation of the twelfth century.[13] Of considerable value is *Jerusalem* by F.E. Peters, a work which makes extensive use of medieval pilgrims' descriptions (*itineraria*).[14] This work includes many medieval texts in English translation. Chapters 12 to 17 deal with the medieval period. Another useful brief discussion is the summary of a lecture given by Denys Pringle to the Anglo-Israel Archaeological Society and the Palestine Exploration Fund at London in 1990.[15]

Numerous studies of the city's churches and art have been made by archaeologists and art historians. Particularly noteworthy are those of Vincent and Abel, Camille Enlart, Jaroslav Folda, Bianca Kühnel, Nurit Kenaan-Kedar, Hugh Plommer (on the Cenacle) and Denys Pringle.[16] The fortifications have been discussed in detail by G.J. Wightman, and elements of them have been discussed by other archaeologists.[17] For bibliographical discussions of studies on Jerusalem, there is the very useful three volume work by Klaus Bieberstein and Hanswulf Bloedhorn: *Jerusalem: Grundzüge der Baugeschichte vom Chalkolithikum bis zur Frühzeit der Osmanischen Herrrschaft*.[18]

There are, of course, many lacunae in this picture. In contrast with Acre, we know virtually nothing of domestic buildings in Crusader Jerusalem, and subjects such as burial, urban industry and various public works such as sewage and the water supply are still in need of more thorough investigation than has taken place to date (including the present summary). Even with regard to the fortifications of the city, while aided by some archaeological and textual evidence, our knowledge is far from complete. Quite often, however, completely unexpected discoveries are made which throw new light on aspects of the Crusader city. In recent years archaeologists have discovered one of the Crusader period gates and a remarkable and previously unknown flood-water diversion system in the Kidron Valley, and an ongoing survey is gradually documenting the entire complex of conventual buildings around the Church of the Holy Sepulchre.[19]

CHAPTER SEVEN

THE FORTIFICATIONS

The walls of Jerusalem are about four kilometres long and enclose an area of approximately 86 hectares. They were rebuilt during the Fatimid period, and two major projects of fortification are known to have taken place in the eleventh century. The first involved the realignment of the southern wall to more or less its present position, excluding Mount Zion for the first time since the Byzantine period. This fortification work was carried out by Caliph al-Zâhir shortly before the severe earthquake of 1033.[20] In this work some of the churches outside the city walls were dismantled to provide building stone for the project (the same occurred a century and a half later under Saladin). According to the tenth-century historian Yahya ibn Sa'id, the Muslims were about to dismantle the great basilica of St Mary of Mount Zion when the earthquake occurred.[21] This probably did not save the church, and it was in ruins when the Franks arrived sixty-six years later. The second phase was the construction of a new wall and towers in the north-western part of the city, which was carried out by the Christian community in 1063. This was part of the refortification of the entire city carried out by the various communities of Jerusalem as required by an edict of the Fatimid Caliph Mustansir (1035–94), which called for the rebuilding of fortifications throughout the region. This edict placed the Christian community of the city in a difficult position, as they lacked the financial means to carry out the work of fortification around their quarter. In the words of William of Tyre,

> a fourth part of this construction work was assigned to the wretched Christians who were living in Jerusalem. These faithful people, however, were already so ground down by corvées and extra corvées, by tributes and taxes, and by the rendering of various ignominious services that the wealth of the entire community was scarcely sufficient to enable them to restore even one or two of these towers.[22]

They turned to the Byzantine Emperor Constantine X (1059–67) for financial support. He placed a condition on the aid, that the quarter delineated by these walls should be exclusively for the occupation of Christians. Cyprus, then under Byzantine rule, was directed to finance the project. The work went ahead, including the construction of the ditch and forewall, the main wall and the towers in the stretch between St Stephen's

Gate in the north and David's Gate in the west. The western wall was constructed on a more westerly line than previously, and it was perhaps at this time that *Qasr al-Jâlûd* (later Tancred's Tower) was first built to protect the north-west corner of the city. In 1098, just a year before the arrival of the Crusaders, the Fatimids carried out additional repairs after retaking the city from the Seljuks.[23]

Frankish sources describing the conquest of Jerusalem in 1099 contain a considerable amount of evidence on the city's defences built during the periods of Seljuk and Fatimid rule. The *Gesta Francorum* mentions the two walls, William of Tyre mentions the forewall (*antimuralis*) and moat (*vallum*) on the north of the city, and Theoderich mentions the *vallum* or *fossatum* and the forewall (*barbicana*).[24] In the south there was a ditch and wall, but there is no clear evidence for a forewall.[25]

The Crusaders carried out two major repairs to the walls. The first was in 1116, possibly a badly needed and delayed repair of some of the damage caused in the siege of 1099 or by earthquakes that occurred in 1113–15.[26] The second took place in 1177, after parts of the walls, which were in an advanced state of decay, had collapsed. According to William of Tyre, both Church and lay leaders raised the money for this repair.[27] The restoration of the city walls in 1177 was probably partly a response to the growing threat of invasion. At the end of the same year Saladin carried out a raid on the coastal region from Ascalon in the south to as far north as Qalqilya near Arsuf. This raid, which sent the Franks in Jerusalem fleeing to the citadel, ended in Frankish victory at Tel Gezer (*Mons Gisard*).

When he returned to the city in 1192, a few years after the siege of Jerusalem of 1187, Saladin took up the task of repairing the damaged walls. He expanded the moat and reconstructed the curtain walls and towers, using stones quarried from the moat and taken from various churches outside the city which he dismantled. These probably included the church of St Mary on Mount Zion, the upper church of St Mary in the Valley of Jehoshaphat, and possibly also the church at Akeldama in the Hinnom Valley, St Lazarus in the north and the ruined church of St Stephen.[28] According to Mujîr al-Dîn, during this work Saladin took up residency in the Priests' House near the Holy Sepulchre. The lord of Mosul sent workers to aid in the repairs. This was a major and costly refortification programme. Mujîr al-Dîn recorded that it continued for close to a year and two thousand Frankish prisoners were employed in the task.[29] Amongst the sections of the wall restored by Saladin, Mujîr al-Dîn singles out the towers between St Stephen's Gate (*Bâb al-'Amûd*) and David's Gate (*Bâb al-Khalîl*), the same area that had been fortified by the Christians a century earlier. This must have been one of the sections of the fortification most badly damaged during the siege of 1187.

The mid-thirteenth-century anthologist Abû Shâma refers to the fortification of a second area, Mount Zion, at this time. The project involved not the reconstruction of an existing wall but the building of a new fortification line which brought Mount Zion within the city walls for the first time in over 150 years. Abû Shâma wrote: 'He [Saladin] turned the city wall over the summit of Sion, which he thus joined to Jerusalem, and he surrounded the whole city with ditches.'[30]

In the early thirteenth century the walls were repaired by the Ayyubid Sultan al-Malik al-Mu'azzam 'Isâ. This work, the nature of which is better known from archaeological finds than from historical sources, took place between 1202 (when al-

Malik al-Adil received recognition as sole ruler of Egypt and most of Syria, and his son al-Mu'azzam 'Isâ was appointed as viceroy of Syria and Palestine) and 1212.[31] It is worth noting that in 1202 the Fourth Crusade was in preparation, and a major earthquake occurred in that year. Both of these occurrences may have played a part in al-Mu'azzam 'Isâ's decision to strengthen the defences of Jerusalem. Three inscriptions from works in the south of the city designate al-Mu'azzam 'Isâ as responsible for their construction. These include the inscription from the tower of the medieval Zion Gate, the inscription located in the eastern wall of the small mosque in the south-west of the citadel and the inscription discovered next to a tower on the southern stretch of the western city wall.[32]

Ironically, it was al-Mu'azzam 'Isâ himself who subsequently, in March 1219, destroyed the walls of Jerusalem, leaving them in a ruined state in which they remained until the rebuilding by the Ottoman Sultan, Sulaimân the Magnificent between 1537 and 1540–41. This destruction was extensive, involving the dismantling of towers and sections of both the main wall and forewall. The citadel, however, remained intact.

The logic behind this extraordinary act appears to be related to the imminent threat of the army of the Fifth Crusade, which had set out from the West two years earlier. After initially failing to achieve their rather uncertain aims in the north, the Crusaders sailed south towards Damietta, where they arrived on 27 May, 1218 with the intention of taking Egypt. When, after a prolonged siege they finally occupied the town on 19 November 1219, the Sultan, al-Malik al-Kâmil offered them generous terms. In exchange for Egypt he was willing to surrender the entire area of the Kingdom of Jerusalem, excluding al-Karak and Montreal (al-Shaubak). With a remarkable lack of foresight the Franks turned down the offer, apparently believing that they could conquer both Egypt and Jerusalem. Al-Mu'azzam 'Isâ, fearing that Jerusalem would in any case fall to the Crusaders, destroyed the fortifications that he himself had only recently strengthened.[33] He believed that it would be more difficult for the Franks to hold the city if it lacked defences.[34] He may also have hoped that by his abandoning the Holy City the Crusaders would be coaxed into departing from Damietta for the easier target of Jerusalem.[35]

In the event, the Crusaders did not attack Jerusalem. However, ten years later the Treaty of Jaffa enabled them to reoccupy the city. The terms of the treaty were obscure in the matter of repairs to the fortifications. The French text of the agreement suggests that the Franks were permitted to refortify the city. However, Arab sources claim that this was not so. Nonetheless, it appears that the Franks did carry out refortification in this period, notably the work on the bastion of St Stephen's Gate.[36] In 1239 al-Nâsir al-Da'ûd of Kerak destroyed these new works, this time including the citadel and perhaps the royal palace adjacent to it. Some repairs may have been carried out by the Franks when they recovered the city in 1243. This is perhaps suggested by the fact that, despite al-Nâsir al-Da'ûd's destruction, the city was to some extent fortified when the Khawarizmians attacked.[37] However, the work could not have been extensive, as the Franks were only in the city for a short time before it fell in 1244. The walls were to remain in ruins until the sixteenth century; the extent of this destruction can be seen in medieval texts and in illustrations of Jerusalem drawn before the reconstruction of the fortifications by Sulaimân the Magnificent.[38]

The forewall (*antimuralis*)

According to Ekkehard Abbot of Aura (d. 1126), a chronicler and participant in the Crusade of 1101, an outer wall was built (more likely restored) in the period of Seljuk rule (1073–98).[39] The Seljuk commander ordered the destruction of monasteries and other buildings outside the walls in order to build it. Theoderich wrote that the outworks of Jerusalem included a fosse furnished with bastions and loopholes which was known as the barbican.[40]

The forewall ran adjacent to the main wall from David's Gate to the north-western corner of the city (Plate 7.1). From there it continued for the entire length of the northern wall, with gaps where the Tyropoeon Valley approaches the wall and at Wâdi Zâhira further east. From the north-eastern corner of the city the forewall continued south, meeting the main wall at some point north of the Gate of Jehoshaphat.[41] Robinson noticed it west of Damascus Gate and wrote of 'several traces of an old wall, indicating a tower or angle, with tolerably large bevelled stones and a trench'.[42] Several sections were exposed and recorded in the late nineteenth century,[43] and others were exposed in 1979.[44] As can be seen in the section adjacent to the western wall and in the sections uncovered in excavation along the northern wall, the forewall was constructed directly above the rock-cut scarp of the moat. At one point in the north it has been measured as 4.5 m wide (wider than the main wall in most places and wider than other sections of the forewall exposed in excavations) but in most places it is probably about 3 m wide. In the west the Turkish wall is built on the remains of the Fatimid/Crusader

Plate 7.1 The forewall north of David's Gate (photograph by the author).

wall, and before it the forewall has been exposed in excavations. Thus we have here both lines of the Fatimid/Crusader defences. The forewall is preserved to a height of 3.5 m. The distance between the outer face of the forewall and the outer face of the main wall is a mere 9.5 m. Allowing for the 3.1–3.5 m thickness of the wall the space between the two walls in this area is only 6–6.4 m. It is constructed from similar roughly shaped fieldstones and, like the main wall, has salient towers set on projections in the rock-cut scarp. It is preserved to a maximum height of about 5 m.

The forewall in the north had ashlar quoins with marginal dressing, like the main wall on the west. These were the 'tolerably large bevelled stones' on the corners of a tower referred to separately by Robinson and Finn.[45]

There is no archaeological evidence for a forewall on Mount Zion.[46] Only later is a wall recorded here, that mentioned by Abû Shâma and referred to above (p. 44). Frederick Bliss and Archibald Dickie discovered a wall on Mount Zion enclosing the *Coenaculum* and the House of Caiaphas, which they believed to have been built by Frederick II in 1229.[47] Referring to this wall, Conder notes that it is certainly medieval. He mentions that the construction contains a 'Norman' moulding 'built in among the stones, and they have the characteristic diagonal dressing of Norman work'.[48] The 'Norman' ashlars were apparently in secondary use, making the wall, or at least the section of the wall exposed, likely to be post-1187.[49] However, it seems more probable that it was constructed by Saladin or his brother al-'Adîl (who used stones from Crusader structures to rebuild the walls) rather than Frederick, who left the city before carrying out any major defensive works. In any case it was certainly built before 1321, by which date the wall appears on Sanudo's map.[50]

In the north a section of the wall or forewall was excavated by Bahat and Ben-Ari. This was directly opposite and 3 m to the north of Tancred's Tower.[51] It is about 3 m wide and preserved to a height of two courses. It was constructed of both fieldstones and marginally dressed ashlars set in hard mortar. A Crusader pilaster in secondary use in this wall suggests that it probably post-dates 1187.

The Templars' wall

Theoderich describes a wall to the south of the Temple Mount, which he refers to as outworks built by the Templars to protect their houses and cloister.[52] During excavations in the early 1970s, remains of a wall (a section 20 m long and 2.8 m thick) were uncovered running diagonally from the eastern side of the Ophel hill towards the south-west, forming a barbican adjacent to the southern wall of the Temple Mount.[53] Unfortunately this wall was dismantled almost as soon as it was exposed without being fully recorded and the only evidence we have of it today consists of aerial photographs taken before it was removed.[54] There is no way of confirming its identity or of establishing a more precise date than that suggested by the excavators (Ayyubid).[55] However, a good reason to give it a Crusader date is that it conforms remarkably well with Theoderich's description: 'one goes southwards from this church [the Church of the Bath or Christ's Cradle, which is located at the south-eastern corner of the Temple Mount] or from the angle of the city itself, down the sloping side of the hill, along the outworks which the Templars have built'.[56] This wall enclosed

the Single Gate, which gave access to the subterranean vaults known as Solomon's Stables (*Stabula Solomonis*), and the eastern entrance to the Crusader gate tower at the Hulda Gate which gave access to the subterranean chambers of the al-Aqsa Mosque which served as the headquarters of the Order of the Temple.

The moat

The moat or fosse was probably constructed at the same time as the outer wall, i.e. in the north around 1063. It served as a source of building stone for the walls. Together with the forewall, it ran adjacent to the main curtain wall from David's Gate to the north-western corner, at which point it is 19 m wide and at least 7 m deep.[57] From Tancred's Tower the moat continues east as far as the Tyropoeon Valley, which approaches St Stephen's Gate from the north-west. Here, according to archaeologists, it was 14 m wide.[58] East of the Tyropoeon Valley the moat re-emerges until it reaches the next valley, Wâdi Zâhira, after which it continues to the north-eastern corner of the city and then south, perhaps as far as the Pool of Our Lady Mary near Jehoshaphat's Gate. In the south, on Mount Zion, the moat probably extended from the south-western corner of the city wall to a point near or just east of modern Zion Gate, where the hill slopes steeply to the south and east. However, no trace of this section of the moat can be seen today or has been recorded in archaeological work. Nor can it be traced on aerial photographs. Perhaps it was filled in in 1187 or shortly thereafter when the new outer wall was constructed on the slopes of Mount Zion. On the other hand, the northern moat can still be viewed at a number of points. About 60 m north of Jaffa Gate, excavations have revealed a section of the moat scarp with the rock-cut base of a tower and steps cut in the rock down to the base of the moat (Plate 7.2). The presence of the steps here indicates that there was originally a postern in this position, apparently on the south side of the salient tower.[59] A similar arrangement is found in the north wall, where the postern in the forewall (part of the postern of St Lazarus) leads to steps descending into the moat. At Tancred's Tower excavations in 1971–2 uncovered another section of the moat with an aqueduct crossing it.[60] Various sections of the moat have been exposed in the western section of the northern wall. From Damascus Gate to the east, sections of the moat can still be seen, including, in places, parts of both scarp and counterscarp. These are best seen below and opposite the Rockefeller Museum. On the eastern wall the northern section of the moat can also still be observed.

The main curtain wall

Most of the city wall seen today was rebuilt in the sixteenth century, but incorporates much earlier stone and surviving segments of the previous city walls. The only place where a fairly extensive stretch of the main Crusader wall can be seen together with its forewall is north of David's Gate, where it is preserved in places up to eleven or twelve courses. This is the section of wall which was originally built around 1063.[61] Elsewhere a small section of the medieval city wall was exposed in excavations, south of the medieval Zion Gate. However, what can be seen of this today is largely a modern

Plate 7.2 Moat, tower and steps north of David's Gate (photograph by the author).

reconstruction. Other small sections survive west of the gate and west of the Turkish Zion Gate, but little of these remains is visible at present.

In the few locations where the medieval main wall can be observed today, it is constructed of roughly shaped fieldstone facings set in hard grey mortar with stone chips, and with a rubble and mortar fill. Its width varies from 2.5 m to 3 m at Tancred's Tower and 3.25 m in the area of Mount Zion.[62] The stretch of the medieval main wall located between David's Gate and the north-western corner of the city is easily distinguished from the Turkish wall built above it by the consistent use of large, roughly shaped fieldstones with stone chips and hard mortar whereas the Turkish wall is constructed largely of ashlars of varying size and workmanship, most of which are *spolia* from different periods. Conrad Schick noted that this wall was not founded on bedrock but rather on a layer of earth 20–30 feet (*c.* 7 m to 10 m) deep. The disadvantage of this (i.e., the ease with which it could be mined) was lessened by the presence of the outworks (the forewall and moat). The remains of four salient towers here form the base of the present Turkish towers. They too are easily recognizable, being constructed of roughly shaped fieldstones with marginally drafted ashlars used for the quoins.[63]

Gates and gate towers

Crusader Jerusalem had five main gates and a number of minor gates or posterns (perhaps as many as eight). The main gates were David's Gate on the west (modern Jaffa

Gate), St Stephen's Gate on the north (modern Damascus Gate), the Gate of Jehoshaphat (modern Lions' or St Stephen's Gate), the Golden Gate (Gate of Mercy) on the east and Mount Zion Gate (Zion Gate) on the south. These are the gates that appear on the medieval round maps (Plate 7.3). *La Citez* refers to the Gate of Jehoshaphat as a postern and points to its importance as stemming from the fact that there was no passage through the Golden Gate.[64] Most people entering the city made their way through David's Gate; there may have been an ordinance requiring merchants entering the city to enter via David's Gate in order to regulate the payment of taxes on produce entering the city (other than certain foodstuffs which were exempt from taxes). It is possible that merchants also entered via St Stephen's Gate, where there may have been a customs house within the barbican. The other gates were used mainly by the residents of the city and pilgrims.

As in other walled towns, the gates of Jerusalem were closed from sunset to sunrise.[65] Most of the gates, probably all of them, were protected by towers with indirect entrance passages.[66]

David's Gate (Porta David/Porta Piscium)

Since the reconstruction of Jerusalem as *Aelia Capitolina* in the second century AD, David's Gate has been one of the two main gates through which travellers coming from Jaffa and Bethlehem entered the city.[67] It was located at the centre of the western city wall, at the western end of David Street. Before the citadel was expanded in the 1160s the gate was probably located against the Tower of David (the Herodian tower). This would be the obvious location, and it is suggested by the manner in which *Porta David* appears on the medieval maps, next to or in the *Turris David*. It is also supported by Saewulf's description of 1102–3, which gives the location as under the Tower of David (*sub arce David regis*).[68] Rorgo Fretellus (c. 1130 or 1148) is a little more ambiguous, stating merely that the tower was 'not far from us as we entered'.[69] Although William of Tyre wrote that the gate was 'below the Tower of David', by the time he wrote his history the gate must have been where it is today, to the west of the tower.[70]

The importance of David's Gate is demonstrated by the way in which it appears on the medieval round maps of Jerusalem (Plate 7.3). On most of these maps only two roads are shown outside the city walls, one coming from *Mons Gaudi* (Nabi Samâwil) in the north-west, the other leading from Jerusalem to Effrate/Bethlehem. The former road reaches David's Gate and is known as the Road to the City (*Vicus ad Civitatem*). The other road leaves the city from the same gate.

No remains of this gate are known to have survived. Two unusual and very fine Corinthian capitals of Frankish workmanship can be seen in secondary use in the blind arch to the east of the Ottoman gate, but their origin is unknown (Plate 7.4).[71] It is reasonable to assume that when the citadel was expanded and took on the form it retains till today, David's Gate was relocated to its present position further west, next to the north-western tower of the citadel but still opposite the entrance to David Street. Before it was relocated, if indeed this was the case, it seems that the gate area underwent some improvement in 1151. In that year Queen Melisende destroyed a mill belonging to the Order of St Lazarus which apparently obstructed the entrance.[72] It is

Plate 7.3 The Haag map of Jerusalem
(courtesy of Den Haag, Koninklijke Bibliotheek, 76 F5. fol. 1r).

Plate 7.4 Frankish capital reused in the Turkish Jaffa Gate (photograph by Gabi Laron).

possible that this mill was connected to the female lepers' house which may have been located beside *Porta David*.[73]

On the Copenhagen map this gate is called *Porta Piscium vel David*. This is in part a biblical name; the Fish Gate was mentioned in the Book of Nehemiah.[74] Burchard of Mount Zion (*c.* 1280) gives a different interpretation. He called this the Fish Gate because: 'through it passed the road to Joppa and Diospolis and the sea shore, along

which road they used to bring fish'.[75] One wonders if it was not given another meaning in the Middle Ages when it may have referred to the two pools (*piscinae*), both known as 'Patriarch's Pool', located inside and outside the gate. Another possible explanation, one that is not entirely inconceivable, is that fish were raised in the outer Patriarch's Pool (Mamilla Pool). Fish are referred to elsewhere as being raised in a pool to the south of the city.

St Stephen's Gate (Porta Sancti Stephani)

The second gate of the city, at least since it was rebuilt as Aelia Capitolina, is the northern gate, known in the Crusader period as St Stephen's Gate because of its proximity to the site of St Stephen's martyrdom and of the church of St Stephen. It was also known as the Gate of the Pillar (*Bâb al-'Amûd*), a name still in use which refers to the pillar that stood here in the Byzantine period which can be seen on the sixth-century Madaba mosaic map.[76] The importance of this gate lies in the fact that it leads to the main northern road running to Nablus (hence the modern Hebrew name, Sha'ar Shechem – Nablus Gate) and from there to Acre or Damascus (hence the modern English name, Damascus Gate). In the twelfth century, before the city fell to Saladin, this gate appears to have been used by pilgrims entering Jerusalem. In the words of *La Citez*: 'By this gate entered the pilgrims into the city, and all those who by way of Acre came into Jerusalem, and by the way of land and from the river on the one side to the Sea of Ascalon on the other.'[77] But this may not have been the case earlier in the twelfth century, when according to Rorgo Fretellus the gate was rarely opened.[78]

The remains of the Crusader outer gate were first recognized in excavations carried out by Charles Warren and published in 1884.[79] He identified the work as Crusader and noted what he calls a 'Templar' cross cut on it. Between 1937 and 1938, R.W. Hamilton excavated at the gate.[80] The more extensive excavations which uncovered most of the remains of the Crusader barbican were carried out by British archaeologists Crystal M. Bennett and Basil Hennessy between 1964 and 1966 and were first published in a short report by Hennessy in 1970 (Plate 7.5).[81] In 1989 a detailed final report was published by G.J. Wightman.[82] He defined a number of phases in the construction of the barbican in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. His first phase comprised the construction of the outer gate, outer barbican wall, piers and flanking walls along the passage between the outer and inner gates (Figure 7.1). Wightman suggests that this phase dates from the reign of Baldwin I (1100–18). To the second phase belong buildings on either side of the passage, including a chapel on the west and a new raised paving of the passage.[83] The third phase consisted of structural changes to the various buildings. The fourth phase included the cutting of a drainage channel in the gatehouse passage and other modifications. A coin of John of Brienne (1210–25) found under destruction debris on the final road level gives the last phase a date of 1210 or later.[84]

A re-examination of this gate and the phases of its construction has recently been published by Hillel Geva and Dan Bahat.[85] They redate the construction of the two main phases of the gate. The first phase is considered to belong to the end of Frankish rule in the twelfth century and to the early period of Ayyubid rule (1183–92), and the

Plate 7.5 Remains of the Crusader barbican outside St Stephen's Gate (photograph by Gabi Laron).

second phase to the period of Frankish occupation in the thirteenth century (1229–44). They consider Wightman's third phase (and presumably his fourth phase, which they do not mention) to be modifications made to the gate after it was destroyed, which therefore 'should not be considered as part of the gate's history, but rather as a post-gate usage of the area'. They regard the second phase as the main phase and support this postulation with graphic and historical evidence: the twelfth-century round maps of Jerusalem, which show the main road and pilgrim's route to the city as leading to David's Gate and not to St Stephen's Gate, and the comment by Fretellus that the gate was rarely opened ('*Porta S Stephani, eo quod sit deforis lapidatus, est raro aperitur*').[86]

Other historical sources throw additional light on the building and destruction of the barbican. Wightman noted that the wording of a passage discussing the northern entrance to the city in the early thirteenth-century text, *La Citez*, shows that the gate was in existence at that time.[87] According to this source, St Stephen's Church was to the right hand of a person entering the gate.[88] As the church of St Stephen was on the left-hand side of the road leading to the gate, it could only have been to the right if there were an outer gate, east of the main gate and adjacent to the wall. Al-Mu'azzam 'Isâ probably partly dismantled the bastion in 1219. In the period following the Treaty of Jaffa in 1229 when the Franks regained their hold on the city, they apparently restored the bastion. However, it would seem that al-Nâsir-al-Da'ûd destroyed it, probably for the last time in 1239. It is unlikely that in the brief remaining period of Frankish rule which ended with the Khawarizmian occupation in 1244 the Franks would have made the effort to rebuild the bastion once again, especially in view of the fact that most of the defences of Jerusalem were, and remained, in ruins.

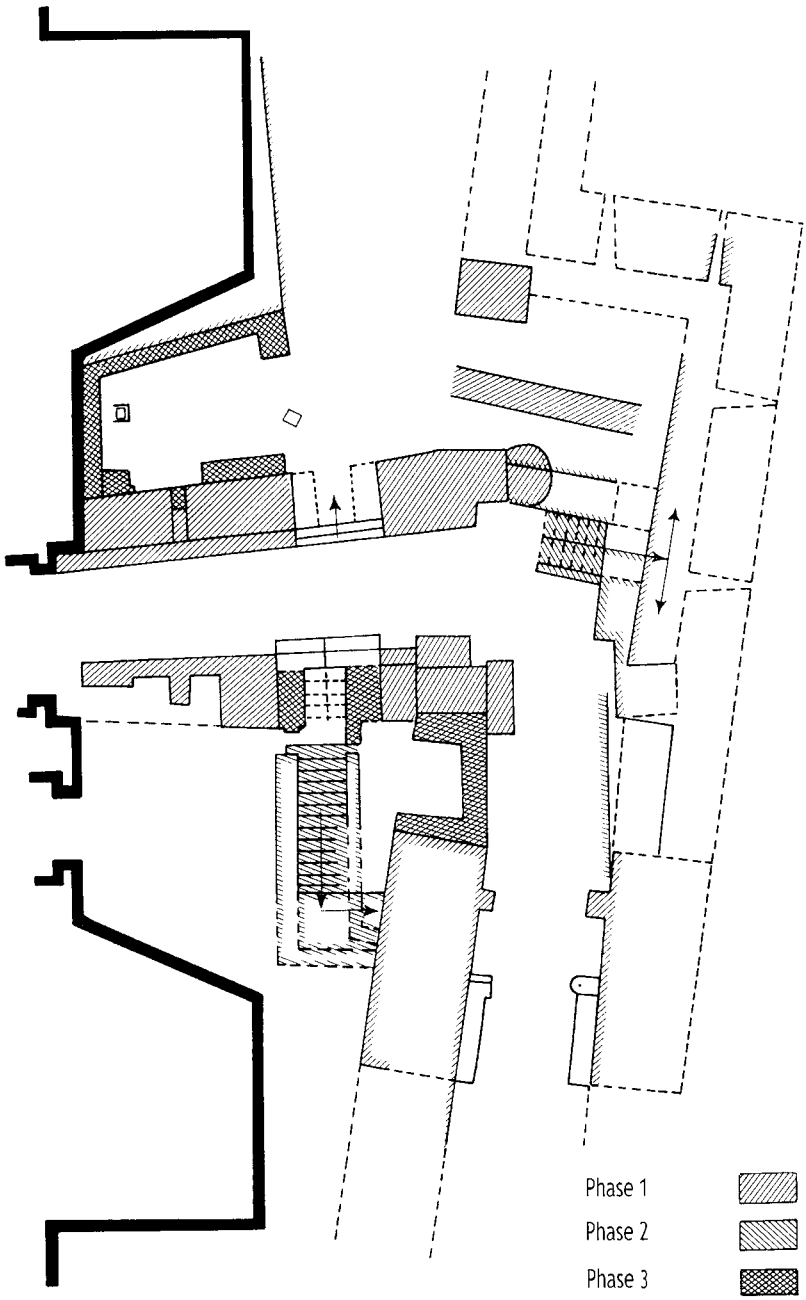


Figure 7.1 Plan of St Stephen's Gate and barbican (after Wightman 1993).

This is the only one of the four main gates of Crusader Jerusalem for which we have substantial remains that can be placed with certainty in the period of Crusader rule. The major structural change made to the existing gate, with the construction of the outer passage and portal, greatly enhanced the defensive capabilities of this gate. The 90° angle in the passage leading to the main gate was a basic element in Byzantine military architecture, which was universally adopted by the Franks. It required an attacker to change direction within the gate complex and thus expose the right side of his body, unprotected by his shield, to enemy fire.[89] The outer gate was protected by two towers.

Mount Zion Gate (Porta Montis Syon)

Since the eleventh-century realignment of the southern city wall, the southern section of the ancient *Cardo* (*Vicus ad Montis Syon*) ended at the medieval Mount Zion Gate. This is about 100 m east of the present Zion Gate, which was constructed in the sixteenth century over another medieval tower.[90] Excavations in 1974 uncovered and partly restored the medieval Zion Gate tower (Plate 7.6, Figure 7.2).[91] An inscription found in the adjacent rubble has been seen as evidence that this gate was constructed during the Ayyubid period (1212) by the Ayyubid ruler of Damascus, al-Malik al-Mu'azzam Sharf al-Dîn 'Isa b. al-Malik al-'Adîl.[92] While the construction seen today may well be Ayyubid, it is reasonable to assume that a gate stood here, at the end of the *Cardo*, before the construction of the gate tower by al-Mu'azzam 'Isâ. Parts of it may have been incorporated in the new gate. Its location at the point where the *Cardo*

Plate 7.6 Medieval Zion Gate Tower (photograph by the author).

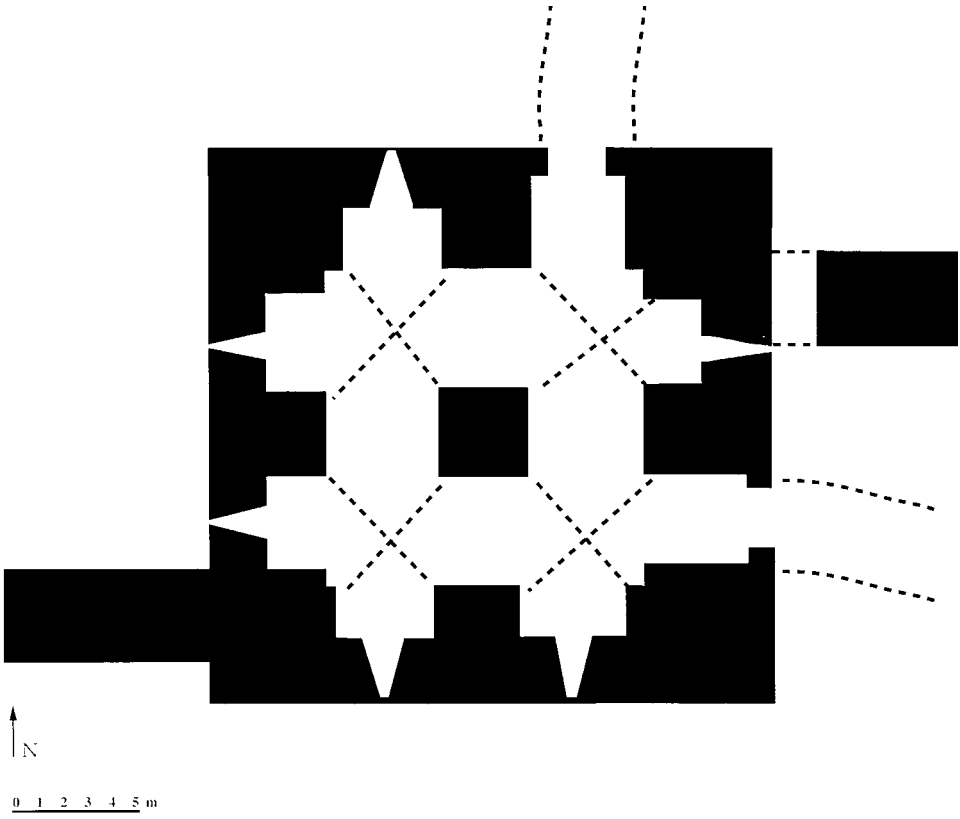


Figure 7.2 Plan of the medieval Mount Zion Gate Tower (after Ben-Dov 1983).

meets the medieval (late Fatimid-Crusader) southern wall is exactly that shown on the Crusader maps of the city. Only later, when this gate was destroyed and the southern section of the *Cardo* went out of use and was built over, was the Zion Gate relocated to its present position, about 100 m to the west.[93]

The gate has a large tower measuring 23 m by 23 m. It partly extends beyond the city wall to the south-east but is mostly within the city walls.[94] It was constructed of marginally drafted ashlars with point-picked margins and hammer-dressed bosses. About twelve courses survive. A number of diagonally tooled stones (one with a mason's mark in the form of a cross) on the three walls inside the present city wall (the other wall is just outside the Turkish city wall), and on the central pier, are apparently in secondary use. The central pier (2.7 m by 2.9 m) originally supported the four groin-vaulted bays of the ground floor, which has an area of 13 m by 12.1 m. The walls are about 5 m thick (that to the north measures 4.8 m) and had casemates and arrow-slits. No doubt there was a second storey. Access from outside the city was through a portal, either on the southern side of the eastern wall of the tower, or in the southern curtain wall. The entrance from the tower into the city was in its northern or western wall. Either of these combinations would result in a bent-access gate.[95]

Gate of Jehoshaphat (Porta Vallis Josaphat)

No trace of the medieval gate is known to survive. However, as it is improbable that the road leading to this gate has changed its position from that of the medieval *Vicus ad Porta Josaphat* it can be assumed that the medieval gate stood near to the Turkish St Stephen's or Lions' Gate, possibly slightly further west.[96]

As already noted, this gate is referred to by medieval sources as a postern, the main eastern gate being the Golden Gate (*Porta Aurea*). However, as the latter did not provide access for regular traffic but was used only for religious processions, the *Porta Vallis Jehosaphat* served as a main gate and appears as such on the contemporary maps. Through this gate one could reach the Valley of Jehoshaphat and the Mount of Olives, with Bethany and the road to the Jordan River beyond.

Postern of St Lazarus (Postern of St Ladre)

In twelfth-century sources a postern is described as being located 'close to the hospital [the leprosorium of St Lazarus]'.[97] It allowed passage into the city from the buildings outside the walls to the north, including the leper colony. Following the occupation of Jerusalem by Saladin, this gate was the only access permitted to Christian pilgrims wishing to reach the Holy Sepulchre. According to *La Citez*, this was in order to prevent the pilgrims from seeing the business of the city.[98] Excavations in the vicinity have uncovered two gates. The gate in the main wall has been identified as an arched portal built of ashlars with diagonal tooling which was uncovered at the base of the present city wall. It was located at the corner of the wall where it begins to extend to the north-west on the north-eastern side of the Franciscan monastery, not far from the modern New Gate.[99] An additional outer gate was discovered in the barbican just to its north. The latter was about a metre wide. Both the threshold with post-holes and the lintel of this gate were found, the former *in situ*. The postern was approached by a flight of stairs from west to east within the moat below.[100]

St Mary Magdalene's Postern

A postern is recorded by *La Citez* close to the church of St Mary Magdalene in a section of the north-eastern wall, leading to an open space between the two walls from which one could not exit the city.[101] The area between the forewall and the main curtain wall may have been used for agricultural purposes, or simply as an approach to defensive positions on the forewall.

Beaucayre Postern (Porta Nova de Belcayre)

In the south wall near the south-western corner of the city was a small gateway known as Belcayre or Beaucayre. This postern was constructed to improve the access of the monks of Mount Zion into the city. Prior to its construction they had to enter the city via the Zion Gate to the east, or David's Gate, further to the north. In 1993 Wightman wrote that remains of the Beaucayre postern 'may yet be found underneath

Armenian Patriarchate Road a few metres inside the Ottoman wall'.[102] In 1996 excavations carried out against the wall, at the point where the road turns east, uncovered a section of wall built of marginally dressed ashlars, projecting from below the present city wall and facing east (Figure 7.3). The archaeologist suggests that this was the outer wall of what was probably a gate tower, constructed over Byzantine levels integrated in the Fatimid wall and below the level of the sixteenth-century wall built by Sultan Suleiman.[103] As this gate tower was apparently constructed in the medieval period and is precisely in the position where a new gate is recorded towards the end of Frankish rule in the twelfth century this is almost beyond doubt the Beaucayre postern, which is referred to as '*nova*' in 1178.[104]

The name Beaucayre or Belcayre has long been considered to derive from the name of a suburb inside the southern wall settled by members of the army of Raymond of St Gilles, who came from a Provençal town of that name. However, Bahat notes that according to Joshua Prawer the origin of this name has nothing to do with Provence but actually means 'beautiful hill' and simply refers to Mount Zion.[105]

Tanners' Gate/Iron Gate

According to *La Citez*, this postern was located at the southern end of the colonnaded street which ran from St Stephen's Gate south-east along the course of the Tyropoeon and under the conduit below Temple Street.[106] A gate with an external tower was discovered about 15 m west of the Dung Gate (Plate 7.7, Figure 7.4). The tower was excavated and partly restored by Meir Ben-Dov (Plate 7.8).[107] The gate has recently been reopened after having been sealed for several centuries, possibly since it was replaced by the adjacent Dung Gate in the sixteenth century.[108] It is 195 cm wide, but was probably used only for pedestrian traffic. The external tower is massive, 14 m square with walls *c.* 4 m thick, but is fairly simple in design, a typical gate tower with an external portal to the west, arrow-slits on the ground floor and it probably had additional arrow-slits on the upper floor.[109] It was constructed above the Byzantine street paving. From the outside the tower may have been accessed via a wooden ramp or staircase, or perhaps the ground was higher than its present level (which is largely the result of excavations). The outer portal of the gate tower was in the north-western corner of the tower, creating a bent axis entrance. The tower has been largely reconstructed, and only the lower courses and rubble core and lower parts of the jambs are original.[110] However, the door jambs are definitely Frankish, dressed with the typical diagonal tooling and close inspection of the restored-arrow slits shows that one of them includes an ashlar originally from an arrow-slit of Frankish date.

There is another theory regarding the location of the Tanners' Gate. Excavations to the north of the existing gate, on the line of the southern wall of the Temple Mount, exposed a fairly massive wall extending west of the Temple Mount which the archaeologists considered to be remains of the southern Crusader city wall.[111] Unfortunately this wall was not described in any detail and it is now impossible to verify its date because it was subsequently dismantled. If this was indeed the southern city wall, the Tanners' Gate would of necessity be located on this line, a considerable distance to the north of the above-mentioned gate. What then would be the function

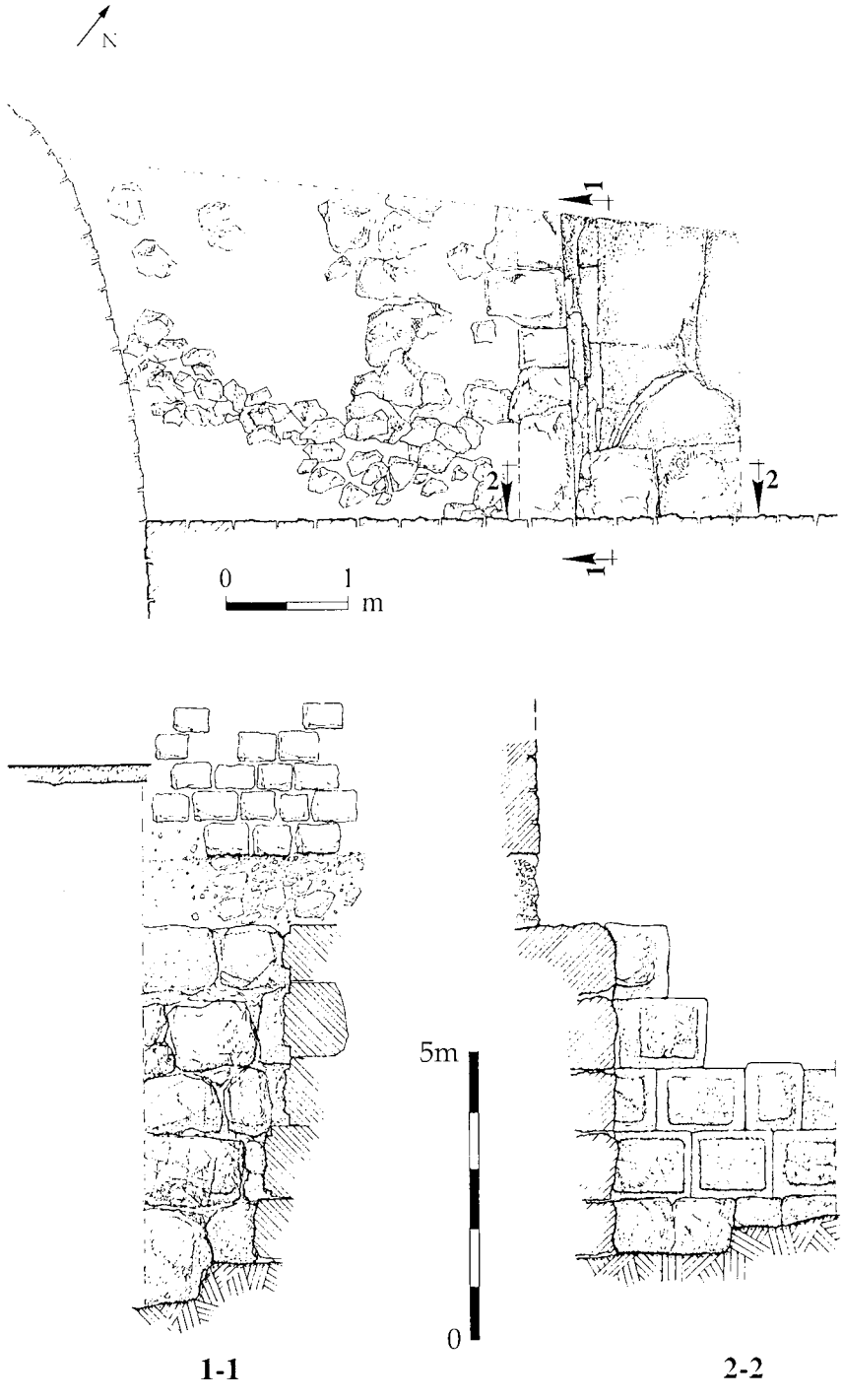


Figure 7.3 Plan and section of the excavation of Beaucayre Postern (after Seligman 1998).

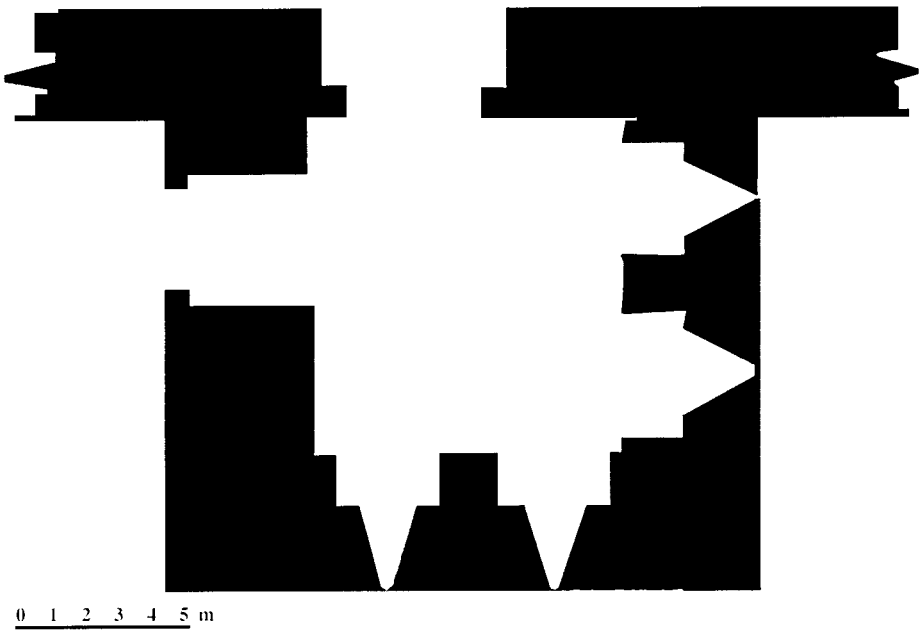


Figure 7.4 Plan of the Tanners' Gate (after Ben-Dov 1983).

of the existing gate and tower which, as noted above, are certainly of Crusader date? Perhaps it was an outer gate on a forewall, but this is pure speculation, as no archaeological evidence remains and there is no mention of a forewall in this area in any contemporary source. On the other hand, Bahat has recorded the finding of Crusader remains just inside Dung Gate.[112] If the wall adjacent to the Temple Mount was indeed the southern city wall in this period, these finds would be from outside the city.[113] Therefore, it is more likely that the southern wall of the Crusader city was more or less on the same line as the Turkish wall and that the excavated gate was in fact the Tanners' Gate.

The name 'Tanners' Gate' derives from the location of tanners' workshops in this area, possibly both within and outside the walls. Recent excavations carried out inside the gate uncovered a medieval industrial complex consisting of plastered pools and channels which archaeologists have dated to the Mamluk period.[114] It would be logical to locate the tanning industry here, not far from the cattle market and near the water source outside the gate at Siloam.[115] Medieval sources which mention this gate do not refer to it as giving access to the Pool of Siloam, and it has been suggested that the gate was not used by the general public but only by the tanners.[116] It was also comparatively conveniently located for the disposal of waste which could be washed out via drains down the slope to the south.[117] The name *Porta Ferrea* (Iron Gate) was used by John of Würzburg.[118] Peters suggests that the name relates to the iron chains used to bind St Peter in the nearby prison or to the iron plates which covered the doors of the gate.[119]

Plate 7.7 Tanners' Gate from the north (photograph by the author).

In the thirteenth century another name was attached to this gate: the Water Gate (*Porta Aquarum*). This is the name used by Burchard of Mount Zion.[120] It is obviously a reference to the Pool of Siloam, once again identifying the use of this gate as an access to the water source to its south.

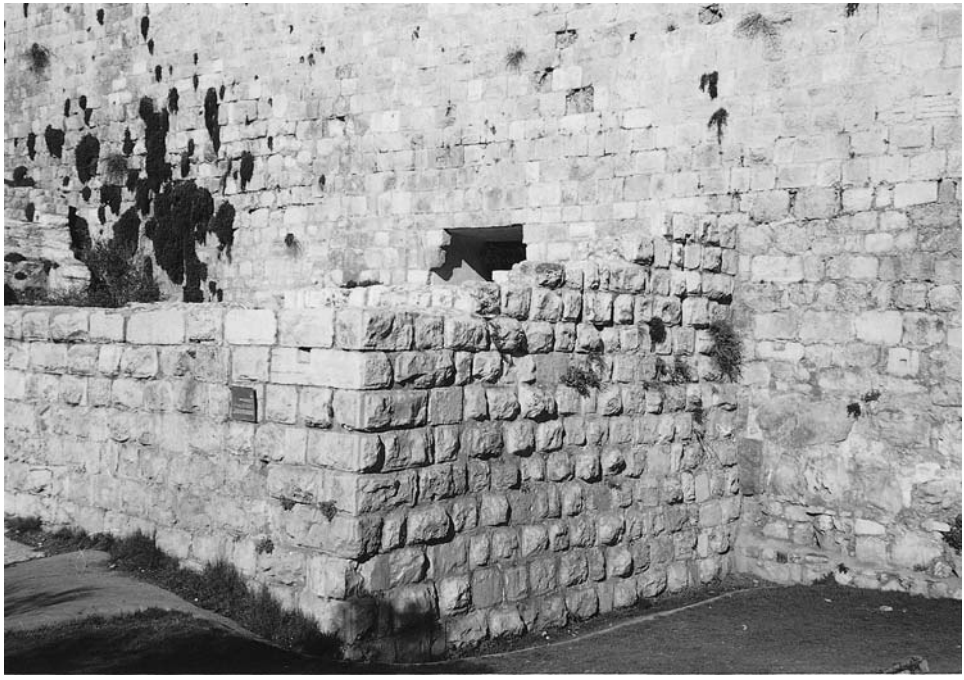


Plate 7.8 Tanners' Gate tower (photograph by the author).

Gates of the Temple Mount

The round maps of Jerusalem show only two of the gates on the Temple Mount, the *Porta Speciosa* and the *Porta Aurea* (Plate 7.3). On the Cambrai map (Plate 9.1) a third gate is shown on the southern wall leading to the *Stabula Salomonis*. William of Tyre mentions four gates: two on the west, one on the north wall of the Temple Mount and one on the east.[121] Marino Sanudo's description is almost identical: four gates to the Temple Mount, above each of which was a minaret; *Porta Speciosa* and a second gate without a name on the west (apparently *Porte Dolereuse*); one unnamed gate on the north; and *Porta Aurea* on the east.[122] *La Citez* is more detailed, adding the Gate of Sorrow, (*Porte Dolereuse*) and also mentioning the Jerusalem Gate, (*Porte Iherusalem*).[123]

Golden Gate (Porta Aurea)

This gate had a special significance in Christian lore. It was through this gate that Jesus entered the city prior to his crucifixion, and during the Crusader period the gate was used for the processions on Palm Sunday and on the Feast of the Exaltation of the Cross.[124]

It would seem from the various descriptions that the Golden Gate consisted in the Crusader period of two wooden doors in both the inner and outer portals, covered, as

were the other city gates, with iron plates.[125] They remained so until 1541, when the gates were blocked with stone.[126] The double-portalled gate is now generally accepted to be an Umayyad structure.[127] Pringle suggests that the two domes on drums over the two eastern bays of this gate were built during the Crusader period when it was converted into a chapel.[128]

Jerusalem Gate

As noted, this gate is mentioned by *La Citez*.[129] It is also recorded by the Anonymous Pilgrim (V) as being located to the east of the *Templum Domini* and above the Golden Gates.[130] The name Jerusalem appears twice on the Copenhagen map. It appears once ('*Jorsala borg. Jerusalem*') at the centre of the city where it is probably intended as the title for the entire map. (It also appears in this manner on Marino Sanudo's map, west of the Temple Mount, where it is labelled '*Jerusalem Civitas*').[131] It appears a second time on the Temple Mount, adjacent to the *Templum Salomonis*. Possibly this latter appearance of the name Jerusalem, and the Jerusalem Gate in the *itineraria* refer to the portico on the eastern side of the upper platform on the Temple Mount. Alternatively, they could refer to the inner (western) gate of the Golden Gate.

Beautiful Gate (Porta Speciosa/Portes Precieuses)

At the eastern end of *Vicus ad Templum Domini* (Temple Street), at the end of the bridge over the Tyropoeon Valley, stood the gate known as *Porta Speciosa*. It was the principal western entrance to the Temple Mount. According to *La Citez*, the name derives from the tradition that it was through this gate that Christ entered Jerusalem.[132] This explains the use of the same name in the Byzantine period for the Golden Gate. Under the Crusaders both were identified as gates through which Christ entered the city.

It would seem that the Franks wished to enhance this gate in a manner appropriate to its name. Even before the Crusader period the gate was a remarkable structure, and an early description by Saewulf (1102–3) describes it as called beautiful because of the remarkable workmanship and the variety of colours.[133] The gate built some time in the twelfth century by the Franks was probably a remarkably beautiful structure. Something of its splendour can perhaps be seen in the architectural sculpture reused in the double Ayyubid gate (*Bâb al-Silsila/Bâb al-Sakîna*) (Plate 7.9).[134]

Gate of Sorrow (Porte Dolereuse)

La Citez mentions the existence of a gate leading from the Temple Mount through which Christ passed on his way to his crucifixion. The location of this gate can be easily understood from the passage in *La Citez*:

> Now I return to the Gate of St Stephen to the street running to the left hand, which reaches the Tannery Postern. After going some way along this street, you find a street on the left hand called the Jehoshaphat Street, a little further on one finds cross roads, where the road from the left comes from the Temple and goes

Plate 7.9 Capitals reused in Bâb al-Silsila/Bâb al-Sakîna (photograph by the author).

> to the Sepulchre. At the top of this way there is a gate over against the Temple, called the Gate Dolorous.[135]

Edward Robinson suggested that the '*Portes Doulereuses*' referred to the *Ecce Homo* arch and that the name was later transferred to the street, *Via Dolorosa*.[136] De Vogüé was of the same opinion, and Vincent understood the passage as referring to the second gate from the north on the western wall of the Temple Mount (*Bâb al-Nâzîr*).[137] However, as the description mentions the Jehoshaphat Street as being reached before the street leading to the Dolorous Gate, and does not say that one turns down Jehoshaphat Street, it is likely that the writer was referring to one of the northern gates of the western wall of the Temple Mount, *Bâb al-Nâzîr* or *Bâb al-Ghawânima*.

The Single Gate

In the southern wall of the Temple Mount, about 32 m from its south-eastern corner, is a blocked, pointed-arch portal. While there is no mention of this gate in medieval sources, its presence is recorded on the twelfth-century Cambrai map, where a postern is shown below the *Templum Salomonis* and the *Stabula Salomonis*. This is the only one of the posterns on the city walls for which we have pictorial evidence. The pointed arch of the gate is clearly of Crusader date, since it is constructed of ashlars with fine diagonal tooling.

The Double Gate (Western Hulda Gate)

Also in the southern wall of the Temple Mount is the Herodian Double Gate, with its carved lintels added in the Umayyad period. In the Middle Ages this gate, which gave access to the *Templum Salomonis*, was partly blocked; the eastern portal was walled in and partly built over and a large external gate tower was added which gave access from the west, and from the east as well, to the western portal, which was now within the tower (Plate 7.10, Figure 7.5).

In the Crusader period this was an important gate for the Templars, as it permitted direct access to their headquarters in the *Templum Salomonis*. The other gates to the Templar quarters were in the northern and western walls of the Temple Mount and the Single Gate in the eastern end of the southern Temple Mount wall, which led to the Templar stables. It was thus only through this gate that the Templars could directly enter their headquarters from outside the city walls. It is difficult to identify which parts of this gate tower were constructed by the Crusaders and which by their successors. The stones used to block the portal bear no Crusader tooling or masons' marks, and the tower built against the Temple Mount wall does not outwardly appear to be Crusader (although the construction of a staircase within the thickness of the eastern wall is a typical Crusader feature). There is some apparently secondary use of Crusader stonework in the upper levels of the tower and there are a few Crusader ashlars on the western face in the second, southern arch. It is constructed of smooth ashlars, and some marginally drafted ashlars that have flat rather than pronounced bosses which are more typical of the Crusader period. Thus it would seem that the tower built against

Plate 7.10 Double Gate Tower viewed from the south-east (photograph by the author).

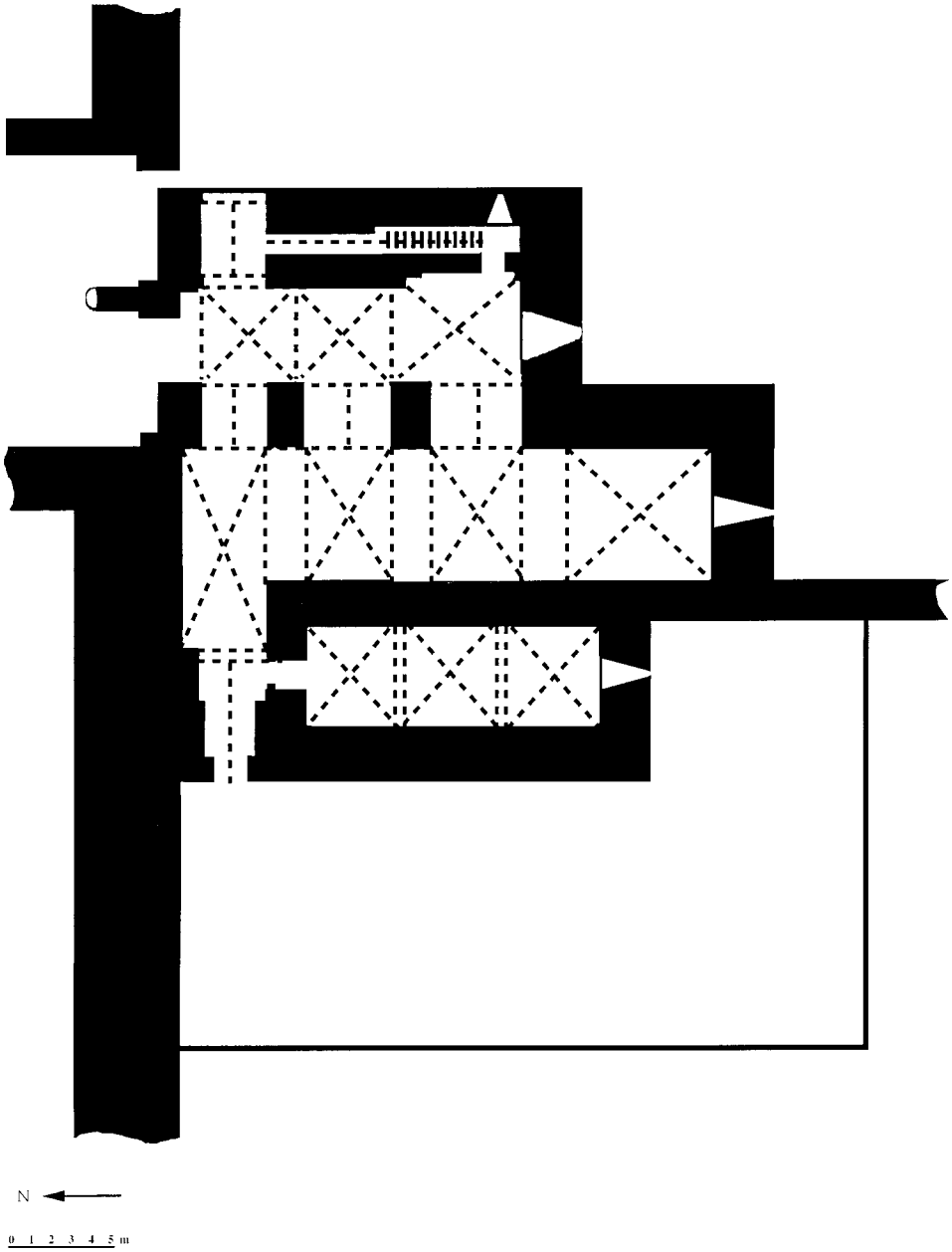


Figure 7.5 Plan of the Double Gate Tower (after Ben-Dov 1983).

the Double Gate, which dates partly to before the Crusader period, was, at some later date, largely rebuilt.

However, the southern part of this tower contains many diagonally tooled ashlars, particularly on its southern face, some with masons' marks. It was here that a lead bulla of Pope Alexander III (1159–81) was found during excavations in 1971.[138] Also, on the western side of this apparently Crusader tower, west of the Turkish city wall, are the remains of another Crusader tower. Walls and the remains of two arches supported on a pier and a wall further to the west survive from what was a fairly massive tower.[139] These are certainly elements of Frankish construction.

In summary, it would appear that the Templars' work in this area against the Double Gate, aimed at protecting the external entrance to their headquarters, has undergone much rebuilding in later times.

Eastern Postern

Claude Conder refers to a postern in the eastern wall of the Temple Mount, south of the Golden Gate.[140] Pierotti also mentions this 'small doorway closed with masonry a little to the south of the Golden Gate'.[141] This postern may have been used for funeral processions. In its present state (the surface of the lintel is largely shattered) it is not possible to date it with any certainty to the Crusader period.

Towers

A number of towers were added to the walls of Jerusalem in the Middle Ages in order to strengthen weak points. Several of these have been routinely dated by archaeologists to the Ayyubid period.[142] It is not very difficult to identify medieval masonry, but it is more difficult to distinguish between Fatimid, Crusader, Ayyubid and Mamluk construction, all of which tend to make use of marginally dressed ashlars with pronounced bosses. In Crusader construction these stones are usually found together with diagonally tooled ashlars, often displaying masons' marks. In such cases there can be little doubt as to the dating of the structure. However, if special architectural features such as door and window frames have not survived, we might well find a Crusader building in which there is no clear evidence for a Frankish date. One should therefore not be too hasty in dating the remains of a building to a period other than Crusader merely because it contains no diagonally tooled stones. One should also keep in mind that the Franks very probably made use of Muslim builders on occasion. We know, for example, of the use of Muslim captives in the construction of Safed Castle which commenced in 1240.[143] In such a case we can assume that Muslim masons worked the stone in the techniques known to them. For these reasons I would not rule out a Frankish date for the towers, which are clearly of medieval date. The finding of a dedicatory inscription in the rubble beside such buildings is certainly an indication of the date for these works. However, as it was customary to incorporate earlier remains in new constructions, even such inscriptions have to be regarded with a degree of caution.

Turris Tancredi (Tancred's Tower), Qasr al-Jâlûd (Goliath's Tower), Quadrangular Tower, Turris Nebulosa

This great tower was possibly originally built around 1063 as part of the new defences constructed in this area by the Christian community who occupied the adjacent quarter. The north-western corner of the city is naturally one of the weakest points in its defences, since the area outside the walls to the north rises considerably. In order to compensate for this drawback, a huge tower was constructed here which overlooked the hill to the north. Burchard of Mount Zion noted:

> Now the rock whereon, as aforesaid, the west wall of the city was built was very high, especially at the corner where the west part of the wall joined the north part. This place was much loftier than the rest, and here was built the tower called *Nebulosa*, and an exceeding strong castle, whose ruins are there still. From it one has a view of Arabia and Jordan and the Dead Sea and many other places.[144]

Although certain traditions relating to Goliath have been attached to this building, the name may simply be an allusion to the great size of the tower.[145] The Crusader period name, *Turris Tancredi*, is in honour of the Norman knight, Tancred, who attacked the city from this position in 1099. This name appears fairly early; Fretellus uses it in *c.* 1130. The tower is illustrated and named on the Cambrai map. It appears (in an imaginary form and outside the walls) on the thirteenth-century map of Burchard of Mount Zion with the name, *Turris Nebulosa*.[146] On a fifteenth-century map (the Comminelli map) the tower is shown more realistically and in its correct location and is referred to as *Palazo Antico*.[147]

In the mid-nineteenth century Felix de Saulcy examined the remains, as did Charles Warren.[148] They discovered massive piers and various chambers (of somewhat later date) with pointed groin-vaults, and also exposed part of its external western wall. Excavations carried out outside the city walls in 1972 uncovered the northern wall of the tower and the adjacent city wall and moat to its north (Figure 7.6).[149] The tower measured about 35 m by 35 m. It was constructed of large marginally drafted ashlars with pronounced bosses. A fairly large part of the structure inside the city wall could still be seen in the late nineteenth century.[150] Bahat believes that the tower was not rebuilt by the Franks, who continued to use the Fatimid tower, and was rebuilt only after the Ayyubid conquest in 1187.[151] The remains of Tancred's Tower were partly demolished when the Collège des Frères was built in 1876. Outside the Turkish northern city wall the outer wall of the tower exposed in 1972 can be seen, preserved to two courses above ground. A close examination of the structure suggests that there are two phases in this northern face. The structure is almost entirely constructed of the marginally drafted ashlars with point-picked margins and prominent hammer-dressed bosses mentioned above. They are set in hard grey cement with stone chips. However, towards the west of this wall there is a seam, and in the section to the west of the seam there is an ashlar at ground level which is very clearly of Frankish workmanship, i.e. with fine diagonal tooling. As it is a single stone, it appears to be in secondary, post-Crusader use. Apparently, the Fatimid tower was extended to the west and the seam

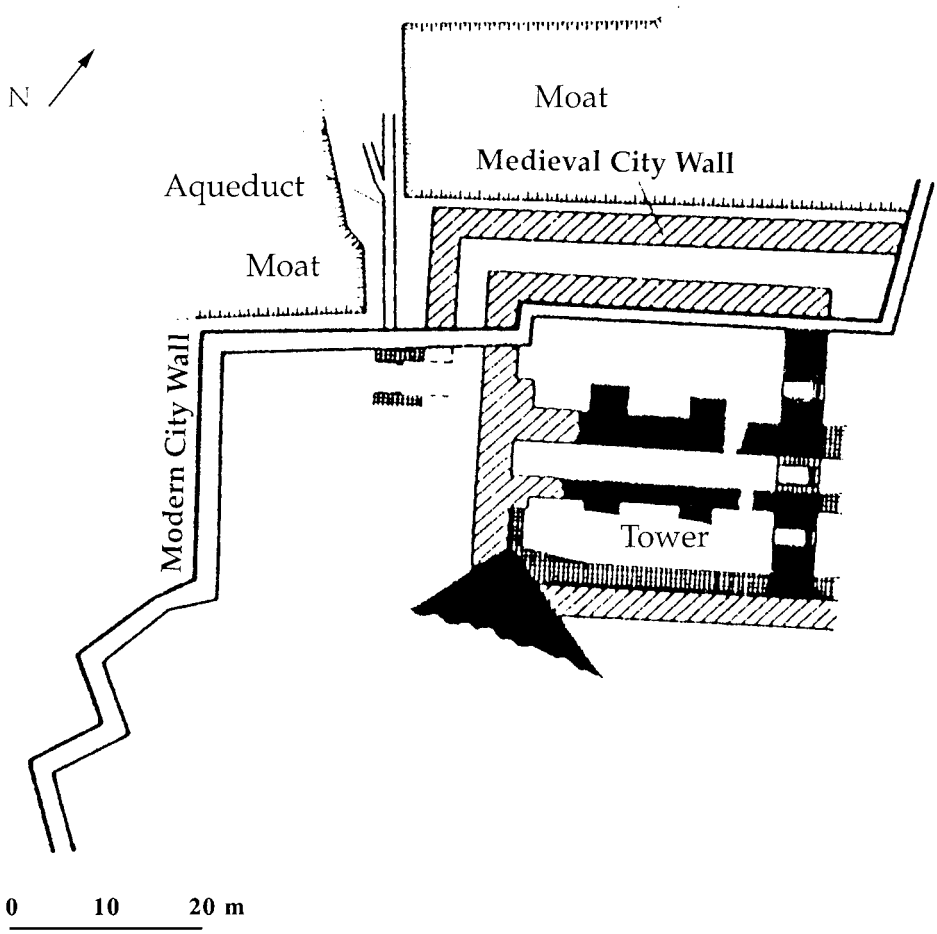


Figure 7.6 Plan of Tancred's Tower (after Bahat and Ben Ari 1975).

was its original western face. Bahat's dating for the tower (Fatimid and Ayyubid) seems to be supported by these remains.

The South-West Tower

In the south-western corner of the city on Mount Zion a large rectangular tower was constructed in the Middle Ages, the purpose of which was to protect the approach from the west (Plate 7.11). It extends some 25 m from the Turkish wall and is 26.5 m long from north to south. The tower is almost entirely constructed from marginally drafted ashlars with point-picked margins and coarse hammer-dressed bosses, but also has a few diagonally tooled ashlars of Crusader date in secondary use, suggesting that it is either late Crusader or Ayyubid. The interior faces of the walls are constructed of roughly shaped fieldstones. The walls are thick, 5 m thick on the south and 5.8 m on

Plate 7.11 South-West Tower (photograph by the author).

the north. A central pier supported the four groin-vaulted bays of the ground floor. The tower was entered from the city through a portal in the western city wall that no longer exists.

Sulphur Tower

About two hundred metres west of the Tanners' Gate a medieval tower, possibly of twelfth-century date, was constructed on the ruins of a Fatimid tower. The latter has been dated to the second half of the eleventh century.[152] It was, if the dating is correct, probably constructed *c.* 1033 and was perhaps destroyed during the Fatimid siege of 1098 or the Crusader siege the following year after which it may have been rebuilt in 1116 or 1177. It is 12 m long and perhaps as broad (the southern side has not survived), and has walls 4.5 m thick, built mainly of marginally drafted ashlars with point-picked margins and coarse hammer-dressed bosses and a few smoothly dressed ashlars with marginal drafting. There are no visible diagonally tooled stones. It is preserved to a height of 8 m.[153]

Middle Tower

Some scholars have applied this name to the tower which is located between the Sulphur Tower and the Tanners' Gate, about 60 m west of the latter. It is a fairly small tower constructed of small, rough, marginally drafted and smooth ashlars and several

ashlars with diagonal tooling. It measures about 10 m by 9.7 m. It is a solid podium preserved to a height of seventeen courses; the superstructure has not survived. This tower, like the previous one, defended the southern approaches from the lower part of the Kidron Valley.

The small size of the stones, and the presence of many diagonally tooled stones and others which seem to be of late date, suggest that this may be a Mamluk rather than Crusader tower. It is definitely pre-Ottoman, as the Turkish wall is built over it.

Tower at the Church of St Anne

This large tower measuring 24.5 m north–south, and probably of similar east–west dimensions, and preserved to a height of 8 m, was discovered in the nineteenth century.[154] It was constructed of typically medieval, marginally drafted ashlars. As already noted, its position, largely west of the Turkish wall, suggests that the line of the main curtain in the east, at least as far south as the Church of St Anne, was also some metres to the west of the Turkish wall.

Two towers on the North Wall

Two towers have been partly exposed on the north wall but have not yet been published. One was located east of the present Herod's Gate. It measured about 20 m (east–west). The other, located about half way between Damascus Gate and the modern New Gate, is *c.* 17 m wide.[155]

CHAPTER EIGHT

THE CITADEL

When on 15 July 1099 the Crusader troops broke into the city, the Muslim and Jewish residents fled to the Tower of David. This tower, which stood next to David's Gate, was built on the massive podium which had once been the base of one of three towers of the citadel of Jerusalem built by King Herod in the first century BC (Plate 8.1). The Herodian citadel was destroyed at the time of the Jewish Revolt (AD 66–70). In all probability, by the time Emperor Hadrian destroyed the city and rebuilt it as *Aelia Capitolina* after AD 135, all that remained of the original citadel was this solid ashlar podium and fragments of the two other towers and the city wall connecting them. By the late-Byzantine period the tower may have been partly rebuilt, and the tradition identifying it with King David already existed. Under Islam the association of the tower with King David was retained; it became known as the Prayer Niche (*mihrab*) of King David. During this period the tower probably served once again as the citadel of the city, a function for which it was admirably suited, being a massively constructed, tall structure located against one of the principal gates of the city. The Tower of David which was encountered by the Franks in 1099 and described by the Russian pilgrim Abbot Daniel a few years later was built on top of the Herodian podium.[1] A round tower and curtain walls discovered in excavations to the south of the tower may have been constructed in the Ummayad period.[2]

At the time of the Crusader conquest, after allowing the Muslims and Jews who had fled to the Tower of David to depart for Ascalon, Raymond of Toulouse occupied the tower and held it, ignoring the demands of Godfrey of Bouillon to hand it over to him. However, facing opposition from his own homesick troops, who feared that if he retained the citadel they would not return home, Raymond was eventually persuaded to hand the citadel over to the patriarch, Daimbert of Pisa, who passed it to Godfrey. It is possible that Godfrey used the tower as his residence when he was in the city. When he died on 18 July 1100, a group of supporters led by his kinsman Granier de Grey held the tower in order to prevent it falling into the hands of the patriarch or of Tancred, and retained hold of it until Godfrey's brother Baldwin arrived from Edessa to be crowned king of Jerusalem.[3]

Abbot Daniel visited the tower early in the twelfth century (1105–7) and described it in some detail. According to Daniel:

Plate 8.1 Tower of David (photograph by the author).

> The tower . . . is curiously built in massive stone, is very high, and of square, solid impregnable form; it is like a single stone from the base up . . . It contains plenty of water, five iron gates, and two hundred steps lead to the summit. An immense quantity of corn is stored in this tower.[4]

This description seems to suggest that the tower may have been even higher than it is today. Daniel continues: 'It is very difficult to take, and forms the main defence of the city. It is carefully guarded, and no one is allowed to enter, except under supervision.' It would appear from this description that at the time of his visit the citadel consisted only of the tower built over the Herodian podium and had no outworks. The round tower and walls are not recorded; Daniel does not mention any walls, additional towers or moats, although earlier, in 985, al-Muqaddasi had referred to it as being defended on one side by a ditch.[5] Another early description of the Crusader period, that of Fulcher of Chartres (which predates 1127), gives a similar impression to that given by Daniel. He refers only to the tower and notes that it was flanked by the city wall on either side.[6] According to Fulcher, the massive stones of the base were joined with lead. He estimated that a garrison of fifteen to twenty men was sufficient to guard it.[7]

In the twelfth century the citadel served as one of the chief centres of civic administration. The importance of the tower as a stronghold and administrative headquarters, and its traditional connection with King David, gave it special significance in Frankish eyes and led to its becoming a symbol of Frankish sovereignty in Jerusalem. Thus it appears on Crusader coins and seals, where its visual impact is equal to that of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre and the *Templum Domini* (Plate 8.2). It remained a royal possession throughout Frankish rule and is referred to by Theoderich as the property of the king of Jerusalem.[8] It was occupied by the castellan who, among his other duties, was required to oversee the entrance of merchants into Jerusalem and to collect dues levied on the entry of goods into the city. Although there

Plate 8.2 Tower of David on a billon denier of Baldwin III (1143–63) (courtesy of Israel Antiquities Authority).

is no direct evidence, it is possible that, like similar citadels in the West, the Tower of David served as a combination of royal lodgings, state prison and record office. Regarding the latter function, sources specifically mention the position of the clerk of the citadel (*clericus in Turre David*).[9] It possibly housed the royal mint and the treasury for the crown jewels and coronation regalia. Other than serving administrative functions and as a stronghold in times of danger, it was also a place from which the populace could be warned of impending danger. Fulcher of Chartres reports that on one occasion a Fatimid raid reached the outskirts of the city. In order to warn the people of the threat, particularly those who were outside the walls (eight of whom were killed by the Muslims); 'the trumpet was sounded above on the Tower of David to make it known to us'.[10]

In 1152 the strength of the ancient fortress was tested and proved to be considerable. In that year Queen Melisende took refuge in the tower when her son Baldwin III attempted to assert his control of the city. In testimony of the remarkable strength of the tower, the use of 'ballistae, bows and hurling machines' was of no avail and Baldwin was able to gain control of it only through negotiation with the dowager queen.[11] In the second half of the twelfth century the permanent population of Jerusalem probably continued to grow, augmented by merchants and masses of pilgrims who entered the city through David's Gate. It is therefore hardly surprising that the need was felt for new administrative buildings, including a new royal palace and a larger citadel. It is very likely that these building projects were carried out by King Amaury in the time between his campaigns in Egypt in 1163 and 1169.

The rebuilding of the citadel was a major construction project, equal in Jerusalem perhaps only to the rebuilding of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre. According to William of Tyre, the expanded citadel had towers, curtains and forewalls (*turribus, muris et antemuralibus*).[12] Although we have no date for the expansion of this building, judging from the similar description of the citadel given by Theoderich as being strongly fortified with ditches and a barbican, we can conclude that the project had been carried out by the time of Theoderich's visit in *c.* 1169.[13] Thus the Herodian tower podium with its later superstructure had expanded into a well-fortified courtyard complex in the second half of the twelfth century (Figure 8.1).

The citadel was now large enough to serve as a refuge for a large number, perhaps thousands, of citizens when Saladin invaded the kingdom in 1177.[14] It served once again as a refuge in the thirteenth century when, following the signing of the treaty between Emperor Frederick II and Sultan al-Kamil in 1229, some 15,000 Muslims who opposed the treaty attacked the city.

During the period of renewed Frankish rule in the thirteenth century, the citadel, which had been damaged but not dismantled by al-Mu'azzam 'Isâ, was strengthened. When the period of the truce came to an end in 1239, al-Nâsir Da'ûd of Kerak attacked the citadel and it fell after three weeks. The Tower of David held out for another six days. Al-Nâsir Da'ûd demolished the castle and the tower down to its Herodian base, and planned to restore the pre-Crusader *mihrab* of David, but fled the city in 1240 before he could carry this out. The citadel was subsequently rebuilt and under Mamluk and Ottoman rule took on its present form, probably very similar to the expanded citadel of the later twelfth century.

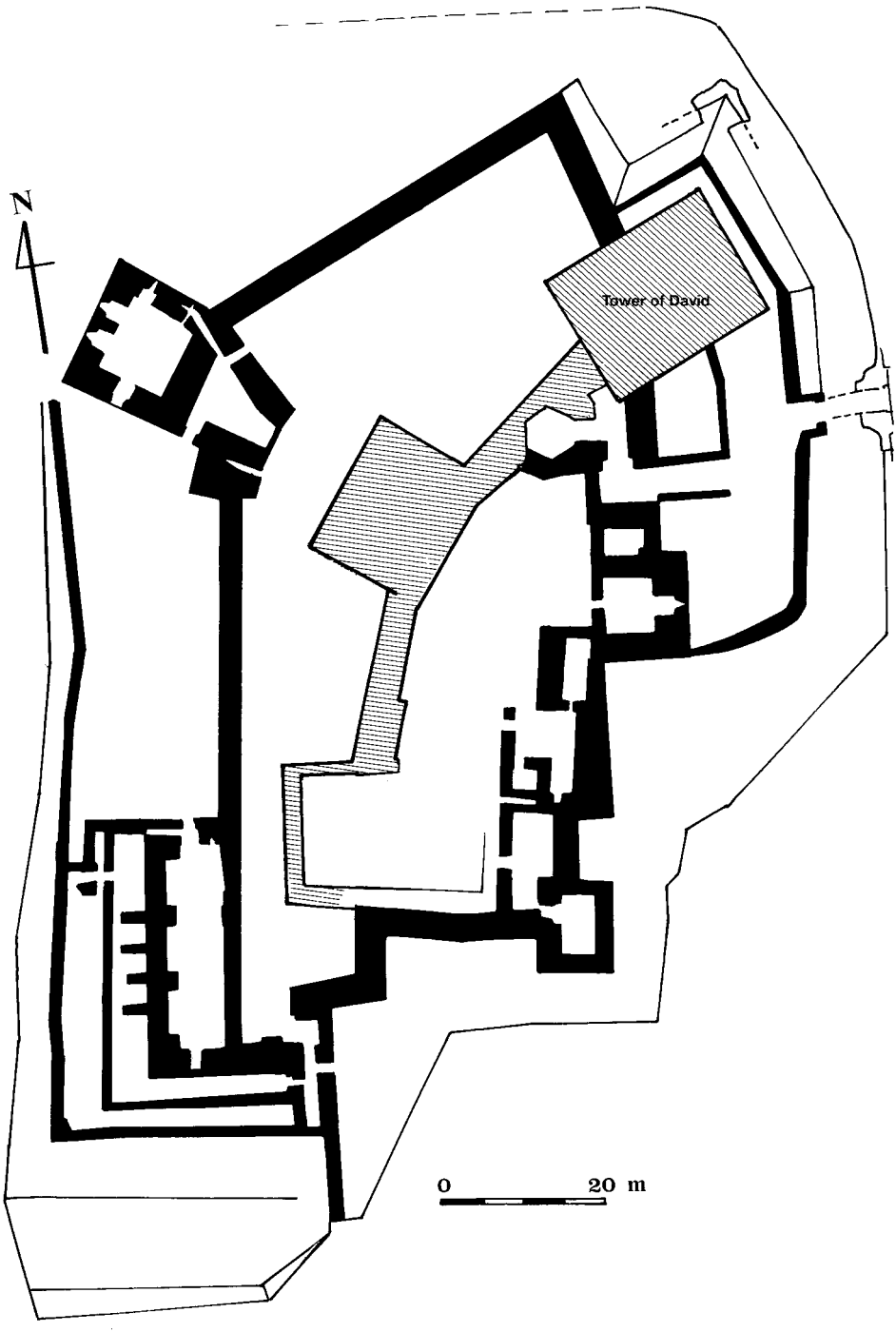


Figure 8.1 The expanded Citadel (after Johns 1997).

Between 1934 and 1947 systematic excavations were carried out in the citadel by the British archaeologist C.N. Johns.[15] Additional excavations were conducted in 1968–9 and in 1979–80.[16] In 1981 a survey of the defensive works of the Mamluk–Ottoman citadel was carried out and excavations were continued in the courtyard.[17] Crusader remains found mainly by Johns included parts of the curtain walls and towers, and the south-west bastion which contained stables and a postern.

CHAPTER NINE

THE ROYAL PALACES

There is very little written or archaeological evidence for the palaces of the Kings of Jerusalem. In the first years of Frankish rule the king may possibly have resided in the Tower of David.[1] In 1104 King Baldwin I moved to the more spacious and better-situated *Templum Salomonis* (the al-Aqsa Mosque). Oddly enough, it appears that he subsequently neglected the palace and allowed it to fall into disrepair. When he died in 1118 the roof was in danger of collapse and Fulcher of Chartres wrote:

> It is now a matter of serious regret that the fabric of the roof needs repairing, ever since it passed into the hands of King Baldwin and our people. This is due to our lack of resources. Indeed if any lead fell down, or was taken down from the roof by his orders, he was even selling it to the merchants.[2]

In a revision of his work, Fulcher used even stronger language when describing the deterioration of this important structure. He wrote: 'Because of our lack of resources we were not able even to maintain this building in the condition in which we found it. For this reason it is mostly destroyed.'[3]

Baldwin I was intentionally despoiling the building, even taking down its lead roofing for profit and he may also have allowed the dismantling of parts of the structure to provide architectural sculpture to be used in the new Church of the Holy Sepulchre, the construction of which possibly began as early as 1109. It has been suggested that some of the capitals reused in the vaulting of the Chapel of St Helena (which is mentioned in 1109) and in the new choir were obtained by a deliberate ransacking of the al-Aqsa Mosque.[4] It is therefore not altogether surprising that when the new military order, the Knights of the Temple, was founded in 1119, Baldwin II gave them temporary quarters in the southern wing of his palace.[5] He was possibly already contemplating a move, and the building was perhaps no longer as desirable or as comfortable a residence as it had been when it was first adapted to the domestic role of royal palace. Together with their quarters in the *Templum Salomonis*, the Templars received from the Augustinian canons of the adjacent *Templum Domini* a square near the royal palace.

For the first nine years after their establishment the Templar Order did not expand. However, William of Tyre relates that once they received a rule drawn up at a council

held at Troyes in 1128, there began a period of rapid expansion.[6] It seems probable that within a few years the *Templum Salomonis* was entirely taken over by them. By 1154 al-Idrîsî refers to the Templars as residents in the building, but does not mention the king.[7] By the early 1160s John of Würzburg describes in detail the Templars' quarters in the southern part of the Temple Mount, as does Theoderich (c. 1169), without making any reference to a royal presence there.[8] Presumably, in the middle of the twelfth century the king had taken up residence in other buildings in the city where he remained for a number of years before finally occupying the new palace which was constructed south of the *Turris David*, probably during the reign of Amaury (1163–74).

The medieval maps of Jerusalem provide us with other possible royal residences which may have been occupied by the king during this interim. On the twelfth-century Uppsala map there is a small building next to the Church of the Holy Sepulchre which is designated *Aula Regis*.[9] Although on the map it is shown to the east of the church, it is conceivable that this represents the building on the south-western side of the Rotunda which was recorded by Felix Fabri in 1480 as having once served as a residence of the kings of Jerusalem. From Fabri's description it seems that the entrance to this palace was located on the northern side of the passage to the south-west of the church. After leaving the *parvis* there was a door on the left (as you look towards the church). It led into 'a garden planted with orange trees and pomegranates, from which garden we went up into a great house with many rooms'.[10] In the main hall there was a window looking onto the Holy Sepulchre. Fabri writes that this palace was later occupied by Saladin and in his own day by a few poor Greeks, by which time it was in an advanced state of decay.

Although it was already in a deteriorated condition in the fifteenth century, parts of this building seem to have survived, remaining in the hands of the Greeks. In the nineteenth century, Edward Robinson described it thus:

> They [the Greeks] took us first to the Greek chapel of Constantine and Helena, as distinguished from that of the Latins. It is on an upper floor, on the south-west of the large dome, between it and the street. From it we looked down through a grated window, directly upon the sepulchre itself.[11]

This window can still be seen today in the Greek chapel, and below it to the east are parallel vaulted rooms which may have been part of the royal residence.[12]

It is possible that, prior to the king, this palace was occupied by the patriarch before the building of the new patriarchal palace was completed in the first half of the twelfth century.[13] Another possible royal residence appears on the twelfth-century Copenhagen map at the junction of the two main streets. The area usually designated as a marketplace, the *Forum Rerum Venalium*, is represented on this map as a fortified structure and has the caption *Habitatio Regis et Prophetarum* (residence of the king and prophets).[14] However, nothing is known of a royal residence here, and this is possibly a reference not to an actual building but rather to an invented Biblical one.

The final residence of the king in twelfth-century Jerusalem was the large palace adjoining the Tower of David which appears to have been constructed in the 1160s, certainly by 1169 and probably not long before, as it is recorded in that year by Theoderich as the newly built solar chamber and palace.[15] Some years later Joannes

Phocas refers to the monastery of St Sabas in the Armenian Quarter as being located near the royal palace.[16] The palace appears as the *Curia Regis* on the Cambrai map, which dates from the second half of the twelfth century (Plate 9.1). Other than this, there are no known pictorial representations of it. Though not all of the depictions on the Cambrai map are reliable (the *Templum Domini* for example), some buildings such as the Church of the Holy Sepulchre and the churches of the Hospitallers' Quarter

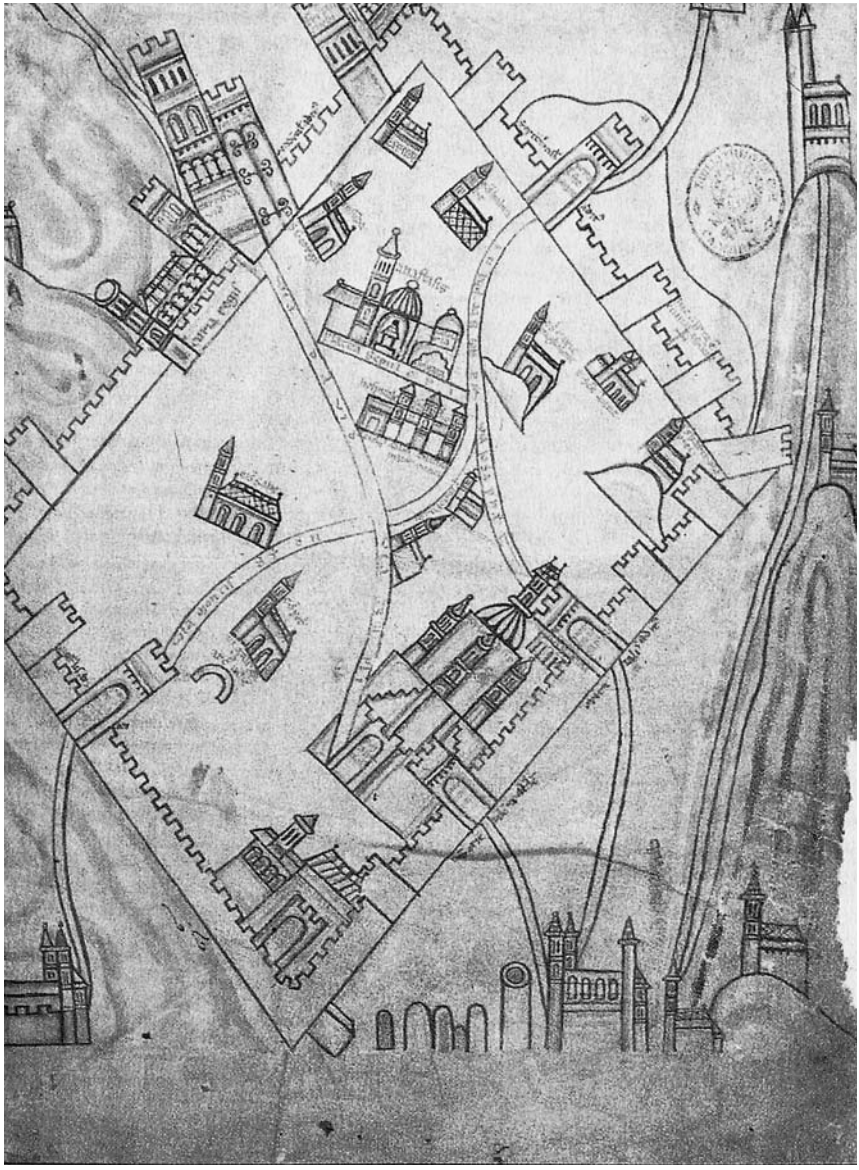


Plate 9.1 Cambrai map of Jerusalem (courtesy of Cambrai Bibliothèque Municipale).

do appear to be reasonably realistic representations. Consequently, we can perhaps learn something of the appearance of the new palace beyond the somewhat inadequate description of Theoderich by looking at the illustration on this map. It appears as a porticoed building with a gabled roof, a small domed tower on its southern side and a larger crenellated tower to the north. It seems to be enclosed by a crenellated fortification wall.

This new palace did not survive into modern times. However, fragments of it may have been uncovered in two excavations carried out in the area to the south of the citadel. A section was excavated in the Armenian Garden in 1971 and additional remains were uncovered in the Qishle (winter barracks) to the north of the Armenian Gardens in 1988–9.[17] In the open area known as the Armenian Garden which is located inside the city alongside the southern section of the western city wall, Bahat and Broshi uncovered what they believe to be the remains of the ground floor of the royal palace's south wing. It consisted of two barrel-vaulted halls, 17 m long, built over rock-cut cisterns. In one of the cisterns a patriarchal cross was found, similar to that found by Johns moulded in the plaster in the cistern under the north-western tower of the citadel. Installations in the building may have been used for the storage of wine.[18] In the Qishle compound to the south of the citadel, Bahat partly cleared additional groin-vaulted rooms constructed of typically Crusader masonry. He uncovered part of the façade, which was decorated with engaged pillars.[19]

It is difficult to explain the almost complete disappearance of the new royal palace when so many Crusader period buildings of lesser importance have survived in the city. At what time did its destruction take place? Imad al-Dîn makes no mention of the palace in his description of Saladin's conquest of Jerusalem, and one would expect to hear of its occupation by Saladin. Instead we hear only of him residing in his tent outside the city walls or in a palace near the Holy Sepulchre. Nor is the royal palace mentioned among the list of properties converted by Saladin into *waqf* (endowment).[20] However, although between 1187 and 1192 a number of other Crusader buildings were dismantled, as were, in 1219, the city walls, the palace was not destroyed at this time. It still existed at the time of the crusade of Frederick II (1229), when it is recorded as having been turned over to the Germans.[21] However, there is no mention of it in thirteenth-century Muslim accounts. It was perhaps destroyed by al-Da'ûd in 1239 when he destroyed the citadel or during the Khawarizmian conquest of the city in 1244.[22]

CHAPTER TEN

THE QUARTERS OF THE CITY

The division of Aelia Capitolina in the second century AD into four roughly equal-sized quarters by two main thoroughfares (*Cardo* and *Decumanis*), served in later times as the basis for ethnic or religious divisions within the city. Under Islamic rule the Muslims, a minority in the city, settled mainly in the region of the Temple Mount. The Jews were located in the south-west on Mount Zion, until it was excluded from the city after the reconstruction of the walls following the earthquake of 1033. They then resettled in the north-east of the city, in the quarter that subsequently came to be known as *Juiverie* or *Judaria*. Armenians were already settled in the northern part of Mount Zion within the new walls. In the north-west, the Christian Quarter was occupied predominantly by members of the Orthodox Church, although there was a certain Latin presence in the area south of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre which later became the quarter of the Hospitallers of St John.

All this changed under Frankish rule. As members of the other religions were virtually excluded from residence in the city, the divisions were now entirely according to the various Christian sects that continued to be present in the city and that now also occupied the Muslim and Jewish Quarters. The north-west was resettled by Latins under the Latin patriarch and became known as the Patriarch's Quarter. The north-eastern quarter, previously occupied by Jews and which still retained the name *Juiverie*, was now occupied by Eastern Christians. The Armenians remained in possession of the south-western quarter. In the south-east of the city were Germans, and there seem to have been other communities located in different parts of the city, Provençals, Hungarians and Greeks for example. However, one should beware of suggesting that there was a rigid division of the city quarters along ethnic lines. For example, it is not at all certain that there were any German residents in Germans' Street except in the German Hospice itself, and the same is true for other supposedly ethnic divisions such as the *Ruga Espania* (Spanish Street) in the north of the city.[1]

The Patriarch's Quarter (*Quarterium Patriarchae*)[2]

As we have already noted, the patriarch, who was the principal representative of the Church and Pope in the Latin East, did not attain the leadership of the newly

established kingdom or even of the Holy City but had to make do with the north-western quarter of the city. This quarter extended from the western gate, David's Gate, to Tancred's Tower in the north-west and from there east to St Stephen's Gate. Its boundaries, other than the city walls, were David Street in the south and the street from St Stephen's Gate, together with the market streets built over the Byzantine Cardo, in the east.

The patriarch was compensated by being allowed to maintain his largely autonomous rule of this quarter. It should be remembered that this was the most important quarter of Christian Jerusalem, since it contained at its heart the holiest places of Christianity and was therefore the focal point of the massive pilgrimage movement which was medieval Jerusalem's principal source of revenue and of new residents. Because of the presence of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, this part of the city had kept its importance after the Byzantine period and throughout the early period of Islamic rule, during which the Christians probably retained their status as the largest religious community in the city. The prestige of the quarter made it the recipient of benefices from Charlemagne, and it later became the site of a hospice founded by Amalfitan merchants which under the Crusaders developed into the headquarters of the Hospitaller Order of the Knights of St John.

The Orthodox patriarch had resided here long before the Crusader period and the historical origins of the Patriarch's Quarter lie in the commitment of the Egyptian Caliph Mustansir to Emperor Constantine X in 1063, that if the emperor financed the re-fortification of the north-western quarter, it would be exclusively settled by Christians.[3] In fulfilment of the caliph's promise, the Muslims in the quarter were removed to other parts of the city and administration came under the direct control of the patriarch. William of Tyre writes:

> Any disagreements which arose were referred to the church, and the controversy was settled by the decision of the patriarch then ruling as sole mediator. From that day, then, and in the manner just described, this quarter of the city had had no other judge or lord than the patriarch, and the church therefore laid claim to that section as its own in perpetuity.[4]

Considerable judicial and administrative autonomy was thereby achieved by the patriarch and when, thirty-six years later, the city once again came under Christian rule this condition was maintained.[5]

The administrative headquarters of the patriarch was his palace, located north-west of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre adjoining the conventual buildings of the Augustinian canons. The palace was originally built by the Empress Eudocia in the fifth century.[6] It is possible that by the twelfth century this palace no longer existed; according to Daniel, at the time of his visit the patriarch was living in spacious apartments in the upper part of the Rotunda.[7] The new grandiose palace to the north of the Rotunda was probably built as part of the redevelopment of the church and its conventual buildings towards the middle of the twelfth century. After the Ayyubid conquest it was converted by Saladin into a hospice for Sufis known as *al-Khankah al-Salâhiyya*.

The Patriarch's Quarter also contained the large open reservoir known as the Patriarch's Pool. This was the ancient reservoir known today as Hezekiah's Pool. In

the Frankish period it was sometimes referred to as the 'reservoir of the bathhouse' (*Lacus Balneorum*).[8] It fed the Patriarch's Bathhouse, which was located across the Street of the Patriarch (or Street of the Patriarch's Bathhouse *Ruga Balneorum Patriarchae*).[9] The external reservoir at Mamilla, also known as the Patriarch's Pool, fed this reservoir via a conduit which ran through *Porta David*. This suggests that the patriarch possessed property outside his quarter; the pool and the adjacent cemetery where monumental Frankish tombstones and sarcophagi (below, p. 184) may have belonged to the canons of the Holy Sepulchre.

A number of churches were located in the quarter. These include the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, St George in the Market, St Chariton and St Abraham. In the Hospitallers' Quarter were St Mary Minor, St Mary Major and St John the Baptist.

The conventual buildings surrounding the Church of the Holy Sepulchre included the building to the south of the Rotunda, noted above, which in the middle of the twelfth century, appears to have served as a royal palace.[10] Also located around the church were the kitchen and refectory, the dormitory and infirmary and various other buildings.[11] A thoroughfare running from west to east, between the Hospitallers' Quarter and the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, was partly occupied by a market where candles were sold to the pilgrims.[12] Somewhere to the west of the Hospitallers' Quarter, near the Patriarch's Pool was a pig market, the *Porcharia Patriarchalis*.[13]

Other than the patriarch's palace, and the Church of the Holy Sepulchre with its conventual buildings, the Patriarch's Quarter enclosed the quarter of the Knights of the Hospital of St John; the Hospitallers, which is described below (pp. 85–8). Additional buildings in the Patriarch's Quarter which have not survived are hinted at in later sources. The list of properties converted by Saladin into *wakf* after 1187 records that among the *wakf* were a mill known as 'the bird', (*al-'asfûr*), an oven, a monastery known as 'the New' adjacent to the oven, a large subterranean cellar (*qabw*) known as the Patriarch's Stable, a mansion with underground rooms located north of the stable, the patriarch's bathhouse mentioned above, a second underground cellar and adjoining shops, the patriarch's pool, the adjacent two-storey compound, the Mamilla Pool and the pipe between the two pools, flat ground apparently in the northern and southern parts of the Hospitallers' compound, land known as 'the valley' (*'al-buq'a*), possibly located in the Tyropoeon Valley or, perhaps more likely, in the modern Jerusalem neighbourhood known as Baka.[14] Except for the last-mentioned land and the Mamilla Pool, all the places mentioned are within the Patriarch's Quarter.

The Hospitallers' Quarter

In the eleventh century a group of Amalfitan merchants established a monastery following the Benedictine rule, known as St Mary of the Latins. It was located to the south-east of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, and nearby they founded a hospital and chapel for pilgrims known as St John the Almoner. According to William of Tyre, the merchants had brought an abbot and monks from Amalfi to set up the monastery, which included suitable offices for the use of the monks and guests.[15] Near the monastery, a convent of Benedictine nuns was established before 1081–2. It catered for female pilgrims and was named for Mary Magdalene.

The exact dates of the founding of these establishments (the monastery, the convent, a third hospice apparently for men located further to the west and the hospital, or perhaps two hospitals) are unclear. Nasir-i Khosraw, who visited the city in 1047, already found that, 'Jerusalem has a fine, heavily endowed hospital. People are given potions and draughts, and the physicians who are there draw salaries from the endowment.'[16] However, it is not clear from this description whether he is referring to the same institution or, perhaps, to a Muslim hospital located elsewhere in the city. It is apparent that the origins of this institution go further back, apparently to the ninth century. Bernard the Monk, a pilgrim possibly from France who visited the city around 870, describes the Frankish hospice of Charlemagne which had a splendid *bibliotheca*.[17] In front of the hospice was a market. The hospice owned many properties, including twelve houses, fields and vineyards in the Valley of Jehoshaphat.[18]

These foundations and those established in the eleventh century formed the basis of what was to become the quarter of the military order of the Hospitallers of St John. The transformation from the Benedictine Amalfitan hospice to an important Hospitaller organization and finally to a fully-fledged military order began under the leadership of the often-recorded but somewhat elusive character known as Brother Gerard (d. 1118 or 1120). His origins were obscure.[19] He may have been an Amalfitan himself, but he is also claimed as a Belgian or Provençal. Gerard headed the hospital in the last years of Muslim rule, managed to survive the siege of 1099 and continued to administer the hospital under Frankish rule. The meteoric expansion of the hospital under the Franks apparently began quite early. Godfrey of Bouillon donated a village, *casal Hessilia* (es-Silsileh) and two bakeries to the hospital, and Baldwin I gave it a tenth of the booty taken from the Fatimid army following the Frankish victory at Ascalon in August 1099.[20] In 1112 the patriarch of Jerusalem and the archbishop of Caesarea exempted the Hospitallers from the payment of tithes.[21] Gerard was succeeded by a no less able leader, Raymond of Le Puy, a Provençal who carried out the actual transformation of the religious order of *Fratres Hospitalarii* into a military order following the precedent of the Templar knights.

After the Hospitallers received papal recognition in 1113 and became a military order in the 1130s, the whole of the area south of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre as far south as David Street and between the Street of the Patriarch and the Triple Market (approximately 130 m by 130 m) was rebuilt. It now included the two eleventh-century Romanesque basilicas (St Mary Major and St Mary Minor or Latin), a huge new hospital and a number of other buildings. The quarter included the two-storey trefoil-plan church of the order's patron saint St John the Baptist, a building of late Byzantine date to which the Crusaders added a bell-tower.[22] It may have been obtained by the hospital soon after the conquest of 1099.

In order to understand the layout of the Hospitallers' Quarter, we have to rely for the most part on two sources of information. The first is the thirteenth-century *La Citez*, which is the most detailed medieval description of the area. The second source is archaeological: excavations and surveys carried out prior to the destruction of the Crusader remains and the construction on the site of a new market in the early twentieth century (Figure 10.1). *La Citez* in particular is invaluable, but our attempt at following this medieval guide through the city is not always easy. The main difficulty is understanding the author's use of certain directions – top, right and left – without

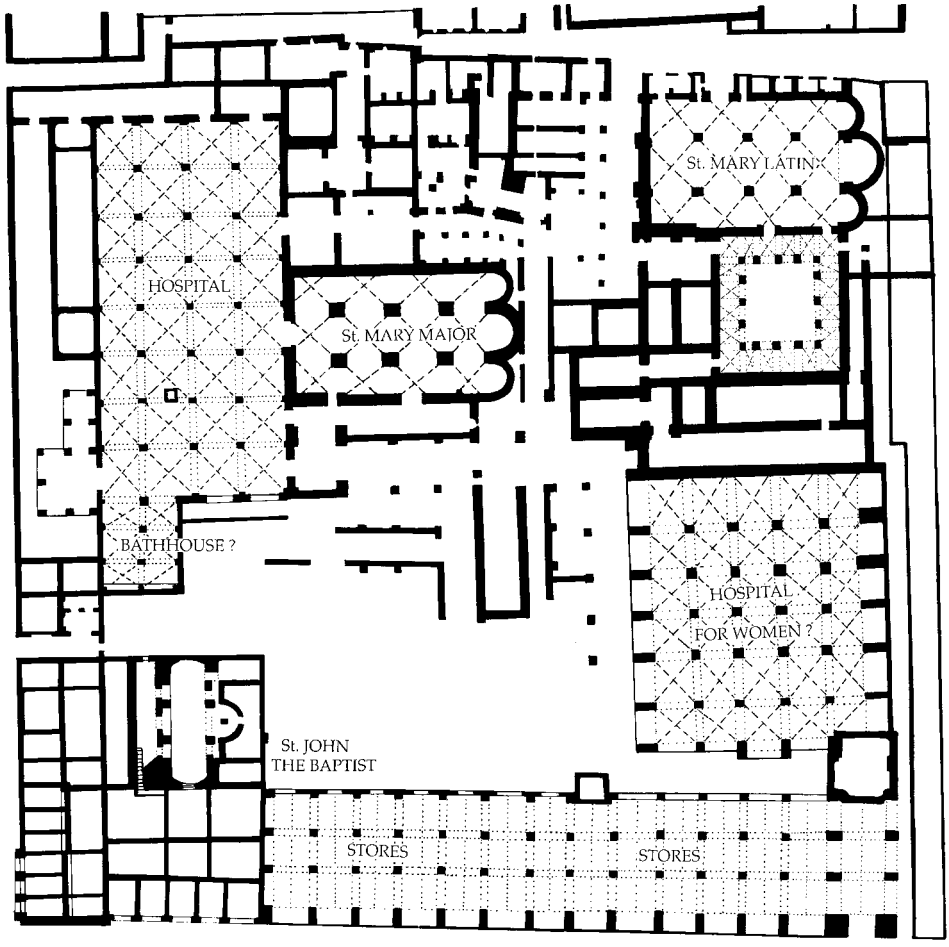


Figure 10.1 The Quarter of the Hospital of Jerusalem (after Schick 1902).

making clear which direction he is facing. They can thus be interpreted in more than one way which can completely change the meaning of the description.

It is generally accepted that the correct identification of the two eleventh-century churches in the quarter is that given by Schick. In Schick's opinion the church in the north-east of the quarter where the Lutheran Church of the Redeemer now stands, was St Mary Latin (Minor) and the church located 25 metres to its south-west was St Mary Latin (Major).[23] The occasional reference to the north-eastern church as St Mary Major and the south-western one as St Mary Minor is perhaps a consequence of the difficulty of following *La Citez*.

The buildings of the quarter were enlarged and improved in the 1150s.[24] By this time the Hospitaller Order had gained considerable wealth through grants and acquisitions in the Crusader states and particularly in the West, and it is probably at this time that the quarter took on its final form: a group of monumental Romanesque groin-vaulted

halls and churches with narrow streets between them and barrel-vaulted shops or stores to the south. The buildings included the great hospital, perhaps a second hospital for women, the three churches, a bathhouse, the palace of the Grand Master, the knights' dormitory and refectory, stables, a granary and perhaps additional buildings.[25] According to Benjamin of Tudela, 400 knights were housed in the quarter at the time of his visit in 1165–73.[26] Schick believed that their residence and stables were located in the south-east of the quarter.[27] Riley-Smith, on the other hand, places the conventual buildings of the order around the Church of St John, i.e. in the south-west.[28]

The Syrian Quarter (*Juiverie/Judaria/Judearia*)

The north-eastern corner of the city, i.e., the area extending north from the Temple Mount to the northern wall, and east as far as St Stephen's Gate and the line of the Byzantine Cardo, became known in the Crusader period as the Syrian Quarter. This name derived from the residence here of Eastern Christians brought by Baldwin I in 1115 from Kerak in Oultrejourdain to settle in the empty quarter.[29] This had previously been the Jewish Quarter, settled by Jews who moved inside the walls when Mount Zion was excluded from the city in the mid-eleventh century. In the Crusader period it was still occasionally referred to as *Juiverie* (in Latin *Judaria* or *Judearia*).[30] The overwhelmingly Eastern Christian constitution of this quarter is witnessed by the presence of Jacobite churches, including St Mary Magdalene, St Elias, St Bartholomew and perhaps St Abraham (which may however have been outside the boundaries of the quarter in the Partiarch's Quarter).[31] However, the quarter was not exclusively Syrian. Located here was the important Benedictine convent of St Anne. Bahat has noted two other enclaves of Syrian Christians in the city: one appears to have been located to the east of the Street of Judas' Arch, and a second group of refugees from Saladin's coastal raid of 1177 settled in the southern part of the Armenian Quarter.[32] Residents of Jerusalem with Syrian Christian names appear in numerous documents.[33] We can conclude that Syrian Christians formed a substantial part of the Crusader city's population.

It is possible that some national divisions in the city were established as a result of the deployment of the armies during the siege of 1099. William of Tyre wrote that on entering the city on 15 July the Crusader knights immediately established themselves in the abandoned houses.[34] Even if there is no connection between the name Beaucayre and Provence, members of the army of Raymond of Toulouse who came from that region may, after attacking the city from the south-west, have occupied the part of the city adjacent to the Armenian Quarter, near the place where the Beaucayre Gate was later built.

The Armenian Quarter

The Armenian community in Jerusalem originated in the Byzantine period.[35] According to Armenian sources, in the mid-seventh century Bishop Abraham became the first patriarch and thus he is referred to in the edict of Caliph 'Umar (although there

is some doubt as to the accuracy of the title as used by the Muslims, and many sources consider an eleventh- or fourteenth-century date more likely).[36] The colony was greatly strengthened under the Franks with the building of the Church of St James and the monastery. The quarter was centred around the church and included other smaller churches such as St Thomas and St James Intercisus. Other than the churches and the monastery there were probably various conventual buildings and private houses.

The German Quarter

In the early 1160s John of Würzburg complained that 'no part of the city, not even the smallest street, was set apart for the Germans'.[37] He seems to have forgotten this bitter comment a few pages later, when he describes the German hospital which was established in the south-eastern quarter in 1143.[38] *La Citez* also mentions the quarter: 'On the right hand [going down Temple Street] there is another street by which one goes to the German Hospital, which is called the Germans' Street.'[39] Pope Celestine II wrote to Raymond, Master of the Hospital of St John, regarding the new hospital of the Germans in Jerusalem, placing it under him and all future masters with the proviso that the priors and attendants be Germans.[40] Ruins of the church, St Mary of the Germans, have been known since 1872 when they were examined by C.F. Tyrwhitt Drake.[41] They were explored and surveyed in 1968 and were subsequently excavated by Meir Ben-Dov.[42] Two of the three structures, that comprised the German hospital, were excavated and underwent basic restoration and part of the structure was converted into a small public garden. The complex was composed of a large courtyard building to the north, a small triapsidal basilica, and, to the south, a two-storey hall-house (Figure 10.2). A large groin-vaulted structure across Germans' Street to the west of the church, of which nothing remains but the bases of massive square piers, may also have belonged to the complex and other buildings from the Crusader period have been uncovered to the south and west of the church.[43]

The Temple Mount, Augustinian Monastery and the Templars' Quarter

What the Franks decided to do with the Muslim sacred buildings was one of the more remarkable decisions taken after the conquest of the city in 1099. The Christianization of medieval Jerusalem differed from previous conquests in that the Crusaders chose not to destroy the buildings on the Temple Mount, but instead adapted them to their own needs and converted them into Christian institutions.[44] When the city had fallen to conquest in the past the sacred buildings had either been completely destroyed or allowed to continue in their previous function. When Titus took the city in AD 70, he destroyed the Jewish temple. In AD 135 Hadrian wiped out all traces of the Jewish city and subsequently constructed a temple dedicated to Venus over the site of Christ's martyrdom, and perhaps, a temple to Jupiter Capitolinus on the Temple Mount.[45] In AD 325 the Christian Emperor Constantine dismantled the temple of Venus, replacing it with a great new basilica which was dedicated in AD 335. Under Christian rule the

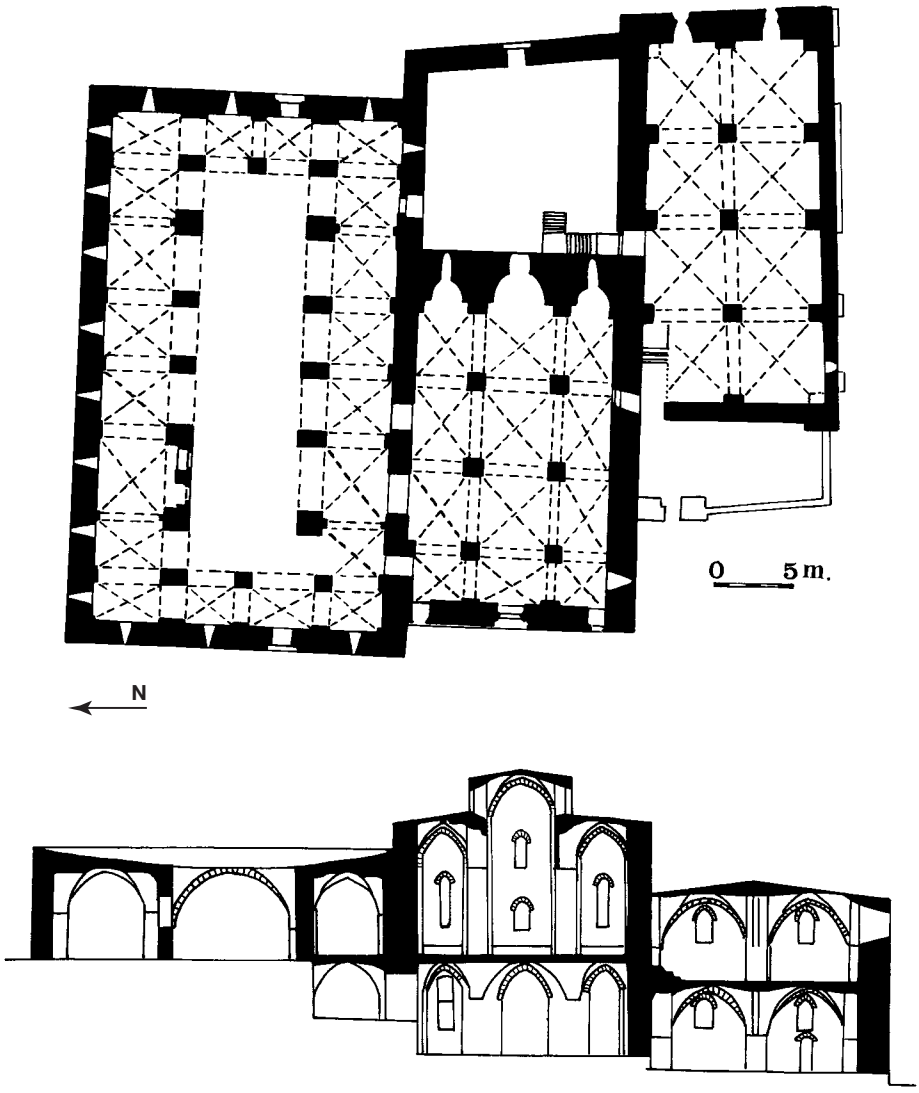


Figure 10.2 The German Hospital compound (after Ovadiah 1993).

Temple Mount was referred to as a dungheap.[46] On the other hand, following the Muslim conquest of Jerusalem in AD 638, several of the Byzantine churches remained intact and in the possession of the Christian community. The Crusaders, however, chose the middle ground. They intended to Christianize the city completely, and their disposition of the religious structures was greatly simplified by the fact that there was no longer a Muslim community in Jerusalem. The Franks would not at that time have had the financial resources to replace the architecturally remarkable structures on the Temple Mount with worthy Christian buildings. They may also have been aware that

the destruction of two of the most important holy buildings in the Muslim world might bring about a consolidation of the Muslim forces against the Christians, the lack of which had allowed them to take Jerusalem. In any case, it appears that the Franks found a way of justifying the preservation of the Dome of the Rock and the al-Aqsa Mosque: they simply chose to be ignorant of the Muslim origin of these buildings. They identified the Dome of the Rock as 'The Lord's Temple' (*Templum Domini*), apparently referring to the temple as it existed at the time of Christ.[47] The al-Aqsa Mosque was known as Solomon's Temple (*Templum Salomonis*); but the sources are never very precise about the meaning of this name. It is probable that this was a reference to Solomon's palace rather than to the earlier or first Jewish Temple.[48] The Franks decided that these buildings should be considered part of the biblical heritage of Christianity and therefore, rather than destroying them, they converted them to Christian use (Figure 10.3). The Dome of the Rock became a church and, as already noted, the al-Aqsa Mosque was at first (from 1104) used as the royal palace and after 1119 became the headquarters of the Order of the Knights of the Temple.

The *Templum Domini* is discussed below (see below, pp. 109–10). To its north, possibly in the lower court, the Franks erected an entirely new building, a monastery for the Augustinian monks who administered in the Temple. This structure was completely destroyed by Saladin in 1187. John Wilkinson has pointed out a possible archaeological reminder of this structure: the two north-western arched entrances to the upper platform have Crusader capitals, while all the other entrances have Byzantine capitals.[49] Probably more of the numerous Romanesque architectural fragments now in secondary use in and around the Temple Mount came from this building. If so, it appears to have been a very elaborate structure. According to the geographer al-Idrîsî, adjacent to the monastery was a beautiful garden planted with various trees and with a marble colonnade around it.[50] There seems also to have been a garden, or at least some trees, to the east of the *Templum Domini*, between it and the *Porta Aurea*.[51] The al-Aqsa Mosque (*Templum Salomonis*) to the south was described by Theoderich as resembling a church with columns and a round end 'like a sanctuary covered by a great dome'.[52] The Umayyad building underwent fundamental structural changes in order to convert it from a mosque and royal palace into the headquarters of the Templar order. Construction in and around the mosque continued throughout the period of Frankish rule in the twelfth century. These works included a dividing wall and apse added to the mosque itself, expansion of its northern porch, a new cloister, a new church, and various other structures. According to Theoderich, who is our best source for the description of these buildings, there were stores of arms, clothing and food.[53] He also mentions solar chambers and buildings for various uses including 'baths, storehouses, granaries and magazines for the storage of wood and other needful provisions'.[54] To the west the Templars erected a new building which contained cellars, refectories and storehouses and which, according to Theoderich, had an unusual feature in the East, a high gabled roof.[55] There was a cloister to the west and a garden to the east which had a wall on its eastern side, beyond which was a lane leading to the Church of the Cradle of Jesus below the site of the House of Simeon the Just.[56] According to Benjamin of Tudela 300 knights were housed in the quarter.[57]

In the 1160s the new church was under construction. It is referred to by John of Würzburg, who writes of a large unfinished church.[58] When, a few years later,

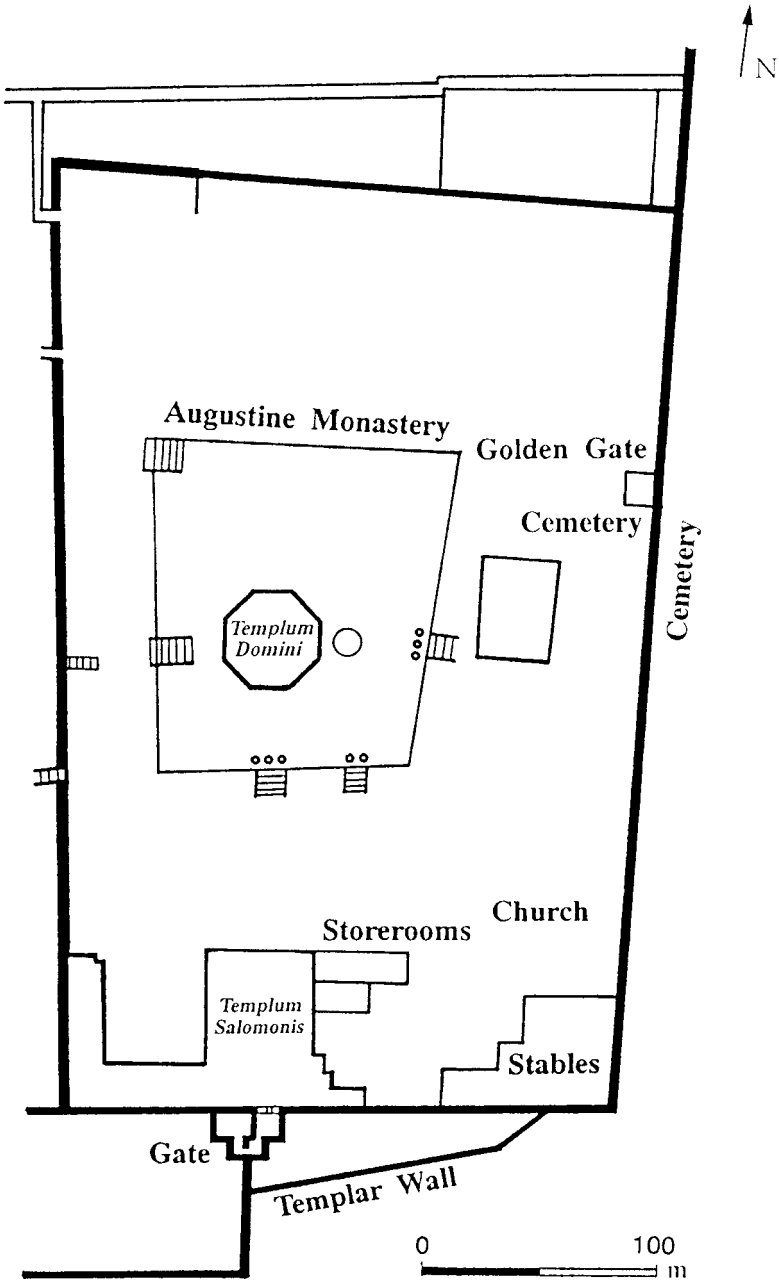


Figure 10.3 The Temple Mount (drawn by Dalit Weinblatt).

Theoderich wrote his account, the church was apparently still under construction.[59] In the south-eastern corner of the Temple Mount was the Chapel of the Cradle of Christ (*Balneum Christi*). In this chapel, a stone niche identified as the cradle of Christ was shown.[60]

The Templars' stables (*Stabula Salomonis*), were located in the underground vaults to the east of the mosque. These ancient vaults were restored in the Middle Ages, probably in the Fatimid period. According to John of Würzburg they contained more than 2,000 horses and 1,500 camels.[61] Theoderich gave the much more impressive number of 10,000 horses together with their grooms.[62]

An *antemural* or bastion (referred to above, pp. 47–8) was built south of the Temple Mount to protect the southern approaches to the quarter, the Single Gate which gave access to the stables and the new tower which was constructed by the Templars against the ancient Double Gate.

CHAPTER ELEVEN

OUTSIDE THE WALLS

While the residential buildings of medieval Jerusalem remained well within the boundaries of the ancient walls, outside the city there were a number of public buildings and installations, both religious and secular, which were also associated with the city's life. Beyond these were farm lands and rural settlements which were part of the economic base of Jerusalem, supplying the city with agricultural products and manufactured goods.

Extramural buildings and foundations

Jerusalem did not experience a great expansion outside its walls such as that of late twelfth- and thirteenth-century Acre. There was no *burgus novus* like those which developed outside Acre (*Montmusard*), Jaffa and Nablus.[1] For one thing, there was ample space for expansion within the walls. Moreover, Jerusalem never had to cope with an influx of inhabitants on a scale comparable to that which expanded Acre to over twice its original size after the loss of Jerusalem and the kingdom's hinterland in 1187. On the other hand, in the immediate vicinity of Jerusalem there were a number of buildings and installations including churches, monasteries and hermitages, industrial complexes, hospitals, stables, water reservoirs, charnel-houses and cemeteries. The monasteries and hermitages were located near the city because of its sanctity but outside the walls in order to be isolated from its temporality.[2] However, the other establishments were located outside the city for reasons of space, topography and hygiene, but nonetheless played a central role in the life of the city.

Mount Zion and the area to the south

Although Mount Zion was left outside the city walls when they were rebuilt after the earthquake of 1033, like other areas which had always been extramural it retained its prestige because of the presence there of an important holy site, in this case the monastery of St Mary of Mount Zion.

From the city, Mount Zion was approached through the Mount Zion Gate or the Beaucayre Postern.[3] In addition to the monastery there appears to have been a

bathhouse, located either inside or outside the walls, which is not mentioned in Frankish sources but was recorded when it became part of the *wakf* (endowment) of the *Salâhiyya Madrasa* (St Anne) by Saladin.[4] It possibly received its water from the aqueduct that came from Artas or from the Pools of Solomon, south of Bethlehem.[5]

On the slope of Mount Zion was the church of St Peter in Gallicantu which contained the cave where Jesus was imprisoned. Only a few architectural fragments remain from the Crusader period. There is no clear evidence for other buildings on Mount Zion. Stones taken from Crusader structures and apparently used for rebuilding the wall in that area were discovered on the south-western edge of Mount Zion in excavations carried out in 1874. Describing these finds, Clermont-Ganneau wrote:

> I soon became certain that all these stones, from the fashion in which they were hewn, could not be of an earlier date than the period of the Crusades. They showed for the most part that altogether characteristic tooling, peculiar, as I have pointed out, to Western masons . . . The appearance of two or three masons' marks upon some of these blocks confirmed me in my view.[6]

It is most likely that these finds (which include various pieces of Frankish architectural carving, the tombstone of one Johannes of Valencinus and a piece of Gothic-style fresco) came from the monastery and church and are not evidence for additional buildings on Mount Zion.[7]

At the base of Mount Zion in the Hinnom Valley is the reservoir known as the Pool of Germain (the modern Sultan's Pool).[8] Below it, further to the south, are the ruins of the charnel house of the Hospital at Akeldama.[9]

Jehoshaphat Valley/Kidron Valley

The eastern gate, *Porta Vallis Josaphat*, led to the area outside the eastern city wall below the Temple Mount. The importance of this valley was established well before the Middle Ages. The Kidron Valley had long served as the city's burial ground. Under Christianity the area between the city walls and the Mount of Olives took on an additional significance, since it was here that an important part of the drama of Christ's entry into Jerusalem took place. Consequently, from early Byzantine times, the valley around the seasonal stream known in Latin as *Torrens Cedron* was the location of some of the most important churches and *loci sancti*. The most celebrated of these were the Church of the Tomb of the Virgin Mary, the Grotto of the Agony at Gethsemane and the Church of St Saviour. On the upper western slope of the valley, below the *Porta Aurea*, was the burial place of the knights who fell during the siege of Jerusalem in 1099. Below, along the *wadi* bed, were caves occupied by hermits. To the south, the valley led to the Pool of Siloam and *Bir-Ayyûb* (Job's Well), which has been identified as the well of En-Rogel.[10] To the east one could go up the Mount of Olives to the Church of Ascension, Bethphage, Bethany and the road to Jericho and the Jordan River.

North of the City

The principal Christian tradition associated with the northern approach to Jerusalem was that of the martyrdom of St Stephen.[11] Here too were located the leper house and another of the city's reservoirs, the *Lacus Legarii* (Pool of St Lazarus/Ladare also known as the *Cisternam Grandem Hospitariorum*).[12]

St Stephen's Church and adjacent vaults

In the Byzantine period (*c.* 439) the Empress Eudocia began to build a large basilica to the north of the city walls to commemorate the site of St Stephen's martyrdom.[13] She herself was buried in this church in 460, four months after it was consecrated. The place where the church stood is now occupied by the monastery of St Étienne. Eudocia's church was demolished during the Persian invasion of 614 and about two decades later a small church was built in its place by Patriarch Sophronius. This church was probably destroyed by al-Hâkim and a new church was built nearby to the west under the Franks.

The Crusader church was destroyed by the Franks themselves in 1187 in order to prevent it from providing the Ayyubid assailants with shelter near the walls.[14] Wilbrand of Oldenberg appears to have been referring to this church when he wrote in 1211 that at the place 'where the Sultan's asses are kept . . . with the materials of the church, a dunghill has been formed'.[15] The only possible remains of a Crusader period church in the area are a small, single-aisled chapel excavated in 1881–2 somewhat to the west of the remains of the Byzantine church of St Stephen.[16] Adjacent to it a group of massive medieval barrel-vaults were exposed in excavations carried out in the late nineteenth century.[17]

According to medieval sources, in the same area as the church was the Hospitallers' *Asnerie*, the asses' stable, which was also used as a way-station and hostel for pilgrims.[18] Another interesting establishment located nearby was a mortuary vault of Byzantine origin, apparently still in use in the Crusader period. It was examined at the beginning of the twentieth century during construction work carried out on German-owned property just north-east of St Stephen's Gate.[19] This may have been the burial place of lepers who died at the nearby hospital.[20]

The Quarter of the Lepers (Order of the Knights of St Lazarus)

Outside the northern wall of the city, to the west of St Stephen's Gate, were the buildings of the Hospitaller Order of St Lazarus.[21] As the St Lazarus postern has been located to the north-east of the modern Franciscan monastery and printing house (above, p. 58), it would seem that the lepers' colony extended from that gate, or nearby, in a westerly direction as far as the north-western corner of the city and perhaps in the other direction (north-east) towards the Pool of St Lazarus. Two sources suggest that it extended to, or was located at, the north-western corner of the city. One is the Cambrai map of the mid-twelfth century which shows the church of St Lazarus at that corner of the city.[22] The other is Theoderich who wrote that the church and houses of the lepers were located near the west corner (*iuxta angulum occidentalem*).[23] However,

in *La Citez* the colony is described as being on the right hand of St Stephen's Gate near the wall, which seems to suggest a more easterly location.[24] Several sources describe the hospital as being placed 'near' or even 'touching' the wall.[25] The latter is unlikely as the moat in this area was adjacent to the forewall and there was probably little space between the two fortification lines.

The location of the leper colony outside the walls was the usual arrangement in Europe and in the East. In Acre the leper colony was probably located well outside the walls until the city expanded to include it towards the end of the twelfth century. The fear of contagion was not the only reason behind the convention that leper colonies should be isolated from the community at large. The Levitical injunctions on separation of lepers were clearly defined in the Old Testament and were enforced by the church.[26] However, by the Middle Ages the fear of infection was perhaps the stronger motivation.

Frankish remains were uncovered during excavations carried out in the City Hall Square outside the north-western corner of the walls in 1988–9. Archaeologists Dan Bahat and Aren Maeir uncovered remains of a large building consisting of the northern and western outer walls with four buttresses but lacking a floor. The rubble included a number of diagonally tooled stones of the Crusader period, on one of which was a mason's mark. Bahat suggests that these are remains of either the conventual buildings of the Order of St Lazarus or a Mamluk caravanserai known to have been located in this area.[27]

The hospital was endowed at various times by the kings of Jerusalem. In 1144 Baldwin III confirmed a grant of a vineyard made by King Fulk, and in 1150 he endowed the establishment with another vineyard located near Bethlehem. Other endowments were made by Amaury in 1155.[28] Humphrey of Toron gave the lepers' hospital an annual grant of thirty bezants from the tithes of his lordship. There is almost no information on the running of the hospital, though we know of two men who played a role in the care of the lepers. One was a certain Alberic, who was described by Gerard of Nazareth as carrying the lepers on his shoulders and washing their feet.[29] The other was a pilgrim, subsequently a Templar, named Bartholomew, who served in the leper hospital for a period before turning to monastic life.[30]

West of the City

To the west was the outer Patriarch's Pool (Mamilla), and next to it was a cemetery which may have been used for the burial of canons of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre.[31] A church located here is recorded in medieval sources.[32] Further to the west was the monastery of the Holy Cross.

The surrounding countryside

A city is never independent of the countryside that surrounds it. The countryside supplies the city with its basic needs of food, building materials, timber, other raw materials and water. The relationship is a reciprocal one, since the city provides the countryside with a market for its produce, with manufactured goods and with other

basic needs, including the protection of its walls in times of danger. In this regard Crusader Jerusalem was no exception. In the countryside around the city olives, grapes, grain crops, fruit and vegetables were grown, livestock was raised, stone was quarried, fuel was gathered and various goods were manufactured. Outside the city fish may have been raised in the reservoirs that supplied water to the city.[33] All these items found their way to the markets within the walls.

Settlements in the region, agriculture and the supply of food to the City

The land around Jerusalem is hilly and stony but for the most part fertile. Only in the east, where the hills drop towards the Jordan Valley and the Dead Sea, does the arid countryside become a semi-desert. Elsewhere traditional crops, notably olives, grapes and almonds, cover most of the terraced hillsides. Vegetables and some grain crops are grown in the valleys and sheep and goats are raised on the limited pasture. In the twelfth century the settlement activity of the Franks seems to have been fairly intensive. It probably began around the 1140s when the threat of incursions by bands of Muslim raiders was neutralized by the construction of a ring of castles around Fatimid Ascalon, which had previously served as their base of operations. These settlements included new villages, farms and estate centres. Many of the villages were founded in order to supply particular establishments in the city with farm produce. Such was no doubt the case with the twenty-one villages acquired through a royal grant by the canons of the Holy Sepulchre.[34] These villages, which are recorded in contemporary documents, were able to supply the church with most, if not all, of its needs in wine and oil. Some of them are known from excavation and others from surveys. Most of these villages are located to the north and north-west of the city.

Planned villages

The three villages of al-Qubaiba, al-Bîra and al-Kurûm are situated to the north and north-west of Jerusalem and within a radius of fifteen km (Figure 1.1). Al-Qubaiba (identified as medieval *Parva Mahumeria*) is on the road between Bait Nubâ and Nabi Samâwil, about 12 km from the city (Figure 11.1). Al-Bîra (Crusader *Magna Mahumeria*), now swallowed up by the city of Ramallah, is 13 km north of Jerusalem. The unidentified ruins of al-Kurûm are situated just south-east of Nabi Samâwil (*Montjoie*) on the southern slopes of a hill on top of which stand the remains of a Frankish hall house known as Khirbat al-Burj.

Magna Mahumeria, *Parva Mahumeria* and probably the village at al-Kurûm were among the villages granted by Godfrey of Bouillon to the Church of the Holy Sepulchre and confirmed by Baldwin in 1114.[35] They were almost certainly established in the middle of the twelfth century, by which time the internal security of the kingdom permitted the intensive colonization of the countryside around Jerusalem by the Holy Sepulchre and other landowners in the city. *Parva Mahumeria* fell to Saladin when he approached Jerusalem in 1187. It returned to Frankish ownership in 1241 under the terms of the treaty which gave the Franks control over the area between Beit Hanina and Latrun. However, this repossession was short-lived, as the Franks were expelled

Figure 11.1 Plan of the 'street village' of al-Qubaiba (*Parva Mahumeria*) (after Bagatti 1993).

for good in 1244 and it is unlikely that in this brief period the village was reoccupied by them. *Magna Mahumeria* and the village at al-Kurûm no doubt shared a similar fate.

The exceptional feature of these villages, and probably of other undiscovered villages in the vicinity, is that they adopted the 'street village' plan well known in medieval settlements in the West but an entirely new phenomenon in the Near East. The houses were built in single rows on either side of a single street, with long, narrow plots of land extending behind each of them. At al-Qubaiba the church, manor house and ground-floor rooms of twenty-nine houses were excavated in the 1940s.[36] The village at al-Bîra was examined in the early 1980s and two brief seasons of excavation were carried out at al-Kurûm in 1992 and 1994.[37] All these villages are fundamentally identical in layout and in the design of the individual buildings. The churches are typically Frankish triapsidal basilicas. The manor houses are either courtyard-houses or hall houses. The individual village houses vary in size, averaging about 4 m by 10 m (internal measurements). Many of them probably had two storeys and some had undercrofts. Wine and oil presses were present in many of the houses, evidence of the main agricultural production that took place in these villages.

Farms and estate centres

Farms and villages were administered by the landowners or their representatives, who resided in the manor houses located in the villages or in the adjacent farmlands. The ruins of these estate centres or manor houses are found throughout the countryside of the Kingdom of Jerusalem and their numbers increase in the vicinity of large cities, particularly around Jerusalem. It would seem that with the improvement in security in the countryside of the kingdom their

Plate 11.1 Village at al-Kurûm (photograph by the author).

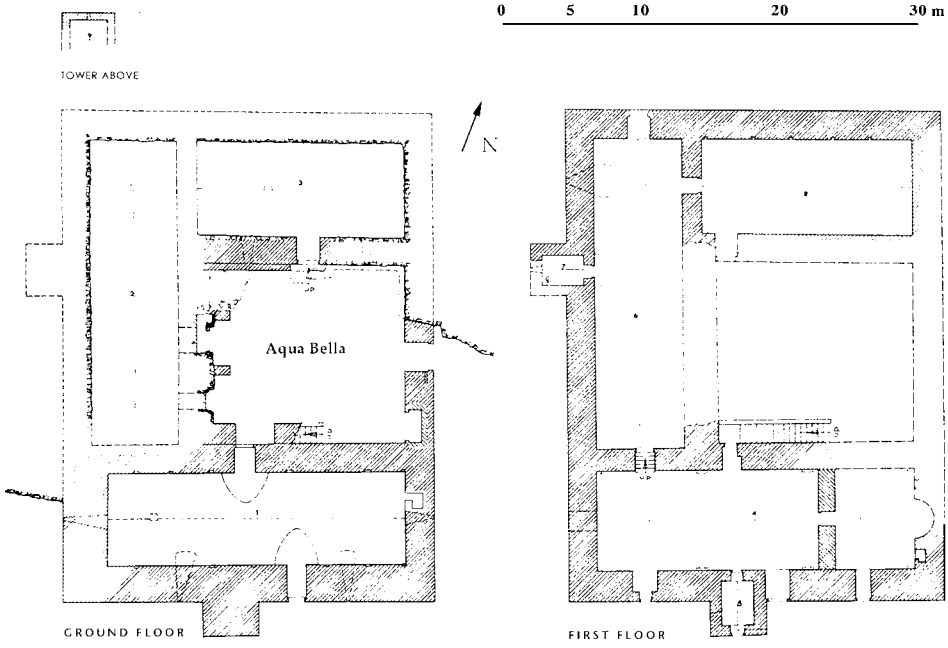


Figure 11.2 Plan of the estate centre of Aqua Bella (after Pringle 1993).

role expanded from one of administration to include actual involvement in agricultural production, and some of them retain archaeological evidence for such activities.

These buildings also have ample storage facilities in the form of large vaults that could have contained rents and tithes collected in the form of produce such as grain, olives, grapes, livestock, or manufactured goods such as oil and wine. These vaults also served as work areas for various agriculturally based industries. Thus, at Har Hozevim north of Jerusalem several bread ovens were found, and at Aqua Bella (Figure 11.2) and Lifta (*Clepsta*) to the west of the city and at Jifna to the north there are oil presses.[38] Chickens and other small livestock, perhaps sheep and goats, were apparently raised at Har Hozevim. The upper floor of these buildings was the residence of the landowner or his caretaker (*locator*). His hall would have served as the administrative headquarters of the region.

CHAPTER TWELVE

THE CHURCHES AND MONASTERIES

The destruction of many, perhaps most, of the churches of Jerusalem by Caliph al-Hâkim at the beginning of the eleventh century opened the way for a comprehensive programme of church-building, which constituted perhaps the most important architectural contribution of the Franks in Jerusalem. According to Pringle, about sixty churches and chapels are recorded in Crusader Jerusalem.[1] The architectural variety among these buildings is considerable. For the Church of the Holy Sepulchre the Franks adapted the design of the Romanesque pilgrimage churches in Europe, the Church of the Ascension imitated the plan of the octagonal *Templum Domini*, the Church of the Tomb of the Virgin was a double (upper and lower) church with a cruciform crypt church containing the tomb and perhaps a basilica above it, the Church of St James was an eastern-type basilica with a central dome and the Church of St Anne was a basilica with an inscribed transept and a dome.

The major Crusader churches

Among the many churches of Jerusalem were those which, through association with Christ, the Virgin Mary, the Apostles or other holy persons, came to be held in particularly high regard. In some cases these traditions dated from the time of Emperor Constantine. Others, like the *Templum Domini*, achieved their status as important Christian holy sites only under Crusader rule.

Church of the Holy Sepulchre

The Church of the Holy Sepulchre lies at the physical heart of Jerusalem and at the spiritual heart of Christianity (Plate 12.1). It was a matter of prestige, as well as a very practical understanding of the importance of preparing for a great influx of pilgrims, that motivated what was perhaps the most important building project carried out by the Franks in the twelfth century. The church had undergone many changes since Constantine had completed his great basilica in *c.* 335. In 614 the Persians led by Chosroes had destroyed the basilica. It was rebuilt shortly thereafter in a less imposing form by abbot Modestus of Jerusalem. Though Jerusalem was taken by the Muslims

in 638, the church survived under Muslim rule. In 935 part of the entrance was seized by the Muslims and the Mosque of Omar was built opposite.[2] In 966, during anti-Christian riots, the dome of the Rotunda was burned down. Nonetheless, the church remained more or less intact until 28 September 1009, when the Fatimid Caliph al-Hâkim ordered its destruction. The Holy Sepulchre was then largely dismantled, only parts of the Rotunda, remains of some walls and architectural fragments surviving. After the death of al-Hâkim a treaty was signed between the Fatimids and the Byzantines allowing the Christians to use the ruined church. However, rebuilding of the church did not commence until the middle of the eleventh century and once again the scale was limited. The main project was the reconstruction of the Rotunda, which seems to have been finished by 1047, when Nasir-i Khosraw visited Jerusalem. He described the church as complete and finely decorated.[3] This rebuilding was carried out with funds provided by the Byzantine emperor, Constantine IX Monomachus. The church inherited by the Franks when they came on the scene in July 1099 included the rebuilt Rotunda with its open, conical roof, apses on the north, west and south and a new chapel on the east. Beyond it to the east was an atrium with three more chapels and Calvary at its south-eastern corner. There were also three new chapels to the south of the Rotunda and the entrance was now via the portico and parvis to the south.

Despite the importance of this project for the prestige of the ecclesiastical and lay leadership, and the need to make it available to the growing number of pilgrims, construction in the Crusader period does not seem to have got under way until well into the twelfth century. In 1106–7 Daniel described the church as being circular and containing

> twelve monolithic columns and six pillars and is paved with very beautiful marble slabs. There are six entrances and galleries and sixteen columns. Under the ceilings, above the galleries, the holy prophets are represented in mosaic as if they were alive; the altar is surmounted by the figure of Christ in mosaic . . . The dome of the church is not closed by a stone vault, but is formed of a framework of wooden beams, so that the church is open at the top.[4]

Golgotha and Calvary are described by Daniel as being in a separate, mosaic-decorated structure. Fretellus, writing in the fourth decade of the twelfth century, still describes the church as 'round . . . and it has four gates' but he notes: 'Outside of this, over against the sun-rising, is the place where the blessed Helena found the Holy Cross, and there a large church is building.'[5] This is the earliest reference to the construction of the new church. On the round maps, the prototype of which probably dates from this period, the Rotunda is shown as a solitary building, with the other sites which were later included in the church still located outside it to the east. The Cambrai map, which cannot predate the mid-1160s, shows the church in its final form, including the belfry which was built after the choir had been completed.

What the Franks did here is really quite remarkable. The Church of the Holy Sepulchre was the ultimate pilgrimage church, and the Franks chose to rebuild it on the model of the great Romanesque pilgrimage churches built in the eleventh and twelfth centuries along the road through France to Santiago de Compostela in

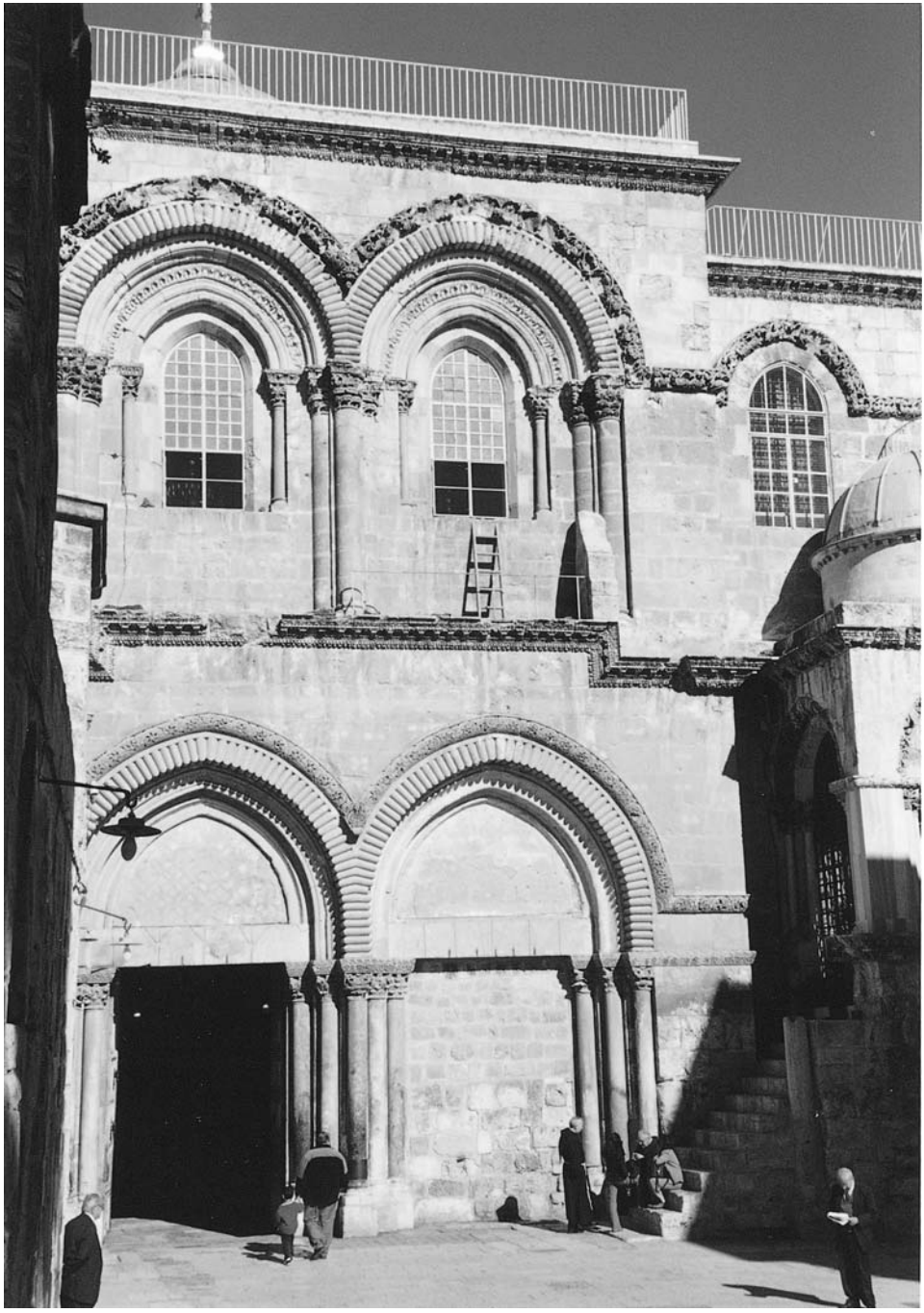


Plate 12.1 Façade of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre (photograph by the author).

north-west Spain. The cathedrals of Tours, Limoges, Conques, Toulouse and Santiago itself all share certain characteristics which set them apart from other Romanesque cathedrals – a broad-aisled nave, an equally (or nearly equally) broad-aisled transept, an ambulatory with radial chapels around the apse and additional chapels on the eastern walls of the transept. This design was ideally suited to an important pilgrimage site like the Holy Sepulchre (Figure 12.1). It allowed large numbers of pilgrims to move freely about the church without disturbing the canons' services in the choir, and gave them access to different chapels in the transept and ambulatory so that several masses could be held simultaneously. The obstacle to applying this plan at the Holy Sepulchre was the Rotunda: there was too small a space between the Rotunda and the area to the east where the various other holy sites were located. As they could not do away with the Rotunda, the architects instead dispensed with the nave and its aisles. In short, the new choir built by the Franks directly against the eastern side of the Rotunda was in fact the aisled transept.

As noted, the construction of the choir was under way when Fretellus described the church around 1130. After mentioning the round Church of the Sepulchre (the Rotunda), he wrote that a large church was under construction.[6] The entrance to the new choir was on the south via the late Byzantine parvis with its arcaded entrance. Here the Franks constructed a magnificent double-portalled façade which combined Romanesque elements with local architectural decoration (Plate 12.2). Comparisons

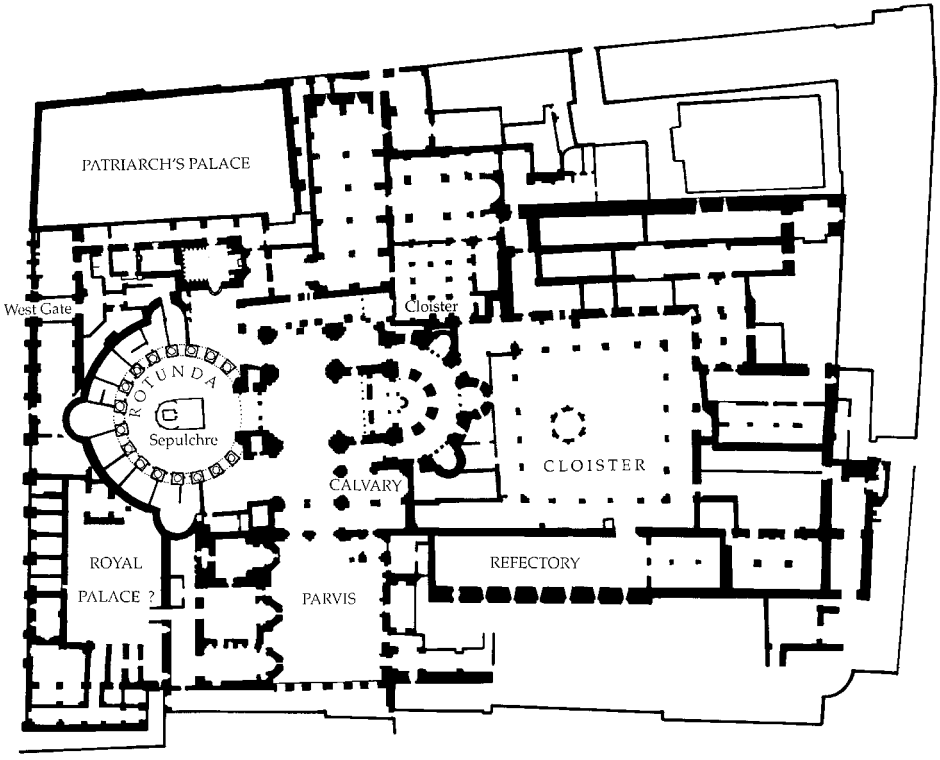


Figure 12.1 Plan of the Holy Sepulchre (after Enlart 1925–8).

have been made between this magnificent construction and the early Islamic Golden Gate, which may well have served as its architectural inspiration.

This main gate to the church was known as the Gate of the Crucifixion.[7] Next to it on the west was the five-storey belfry topped with a polygonal dome.[8] The bell tower was apparently added as an afterthought, since it clearly blocks a window and cuts a decorated frieze in the façade west of the portals. It was perhaps not built as late as is sometimes proposed. De Vogüé suggested dating the façade to 1140–60 and the belfry to 1160–80.[9] However, it was mentioned by the Muslim geographer, Muhammad al-Idrîsî in 1154.[10]

A new porch leading to the Rotunda was constructed on Patriarch's Street to the west. According to al-Idrîsî: 'You may enter [the church] by a gate at the west end, and the interior thereof occupies the centre space under a dome which covers the whole of the church.'[11] *La Citez* records that 'there is a door [on Patriarch's Street] by which one enters into the Church of the Sepulchre, but it is not the Master Door'.[12] This portal, now blocked, can still be seen. It has the same 'pillow' moulding that appears on the southern portals and to either side of it are columns with Corinthian capitals. It may have been used only to reach the upper gallery of the Rotunda, as the street level here is about 9 m above floor level. Indeed, from al-Idrîsî's words it is clear that this door gave access only to an upper level in the Rotunda rather than to the ground level for he goes on to say: 'The church itself lies lower than the gate, but you cannot descend thereto from this side.'[13] Al-Idrîsî mentions a second gate to the north, the Gate of St Maria, no longer visible, via which the ground level of the Rotunda could be reached by descending thirty steps.[14]

Much ink has been spilt over the changes carried out during the Crusader period to the aedicule (tomb chamber), one of the two principal *loci sancti* in the church.[15] There are detailed descriptions of it in written sources and numerous renderings on coins, ampullae and other objects, but nothing of the actual structure survives.[16] Daniel described early embellishments made to the eleventh-century aedicule: a new cupola mounted with a larger-than-life silver statue of Christ.[17] The need to protect the remains of the original tomb is illustrated in his description of what occurred during his visit to the tomb, after he took measurements of it. He writes:

> seeing my love for the Holy Sepulchre, he [the guardian of the tomb] pushed back the slab that covers the part of the sacred Tomb on which Christ's head lay, and broke off a morsel of the sacred rock; this he gave me as a blessed memorial, begging me at the same time not to say anything about it at Jerusalem.[18]

This seems to have been a common practice in the Middle Ages and measures were soon taken to prevent such damage: in 1119 the aedicule was apparently covered with marble plates, as were other important pilgrimage sites, the Tomb of the Virgin Mary and the rock in the *Templum Domini*. In a fashion similar to the Tomb of the Virgin Mary, the remains of Christ's sepulchre were fronted with a stone transenna containing three holes through which they could be viewed.[19] This transenna can be seen in contemporary illustrations such as on the reverse of the seal of Patriarch William I of Jerusalem (1130–45).[20] The entrance to the aedicule was adorned with mosaics which

Plate 12.2 Details of the sculpture on the façade of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre (photograph by the author).

are described by Theoderich who writes that the whole of the entrance chapel was decorated with mosaic scenes and inscriptions.[21]

When Saladin took Jerusalem he may have dismantled the aedicule. According to the Rothelin Continuation of William of Tyre, the Muslims 'threw down the marble framework that enclosed the Sepulchre of Our Lord and took the carved columns that stood in front of it and sent them to Muhammad at Mecca as a sign of victory'.[22] This source is not always reliable but it is reasonable to assume that the aedicule was dismantled or, at the very least, badly damaged. There is even a suggestion that the Franks themselves contributed to the damage carried out at this time. According to 'Imâd al-Din, the patriarch 'gathered up all that stood above the Sepulchre, the gold plating and gold and silver artifacts'.[23]

The second important site in the church was the chapel of Calvary. The celebrity of Mount Calvary was enhanced in the Middle Ages by the relocation there of the biblical story of the Sacrifice of Isaac. Saewulf wrote:

> Next we ascend Mount Calvary, where the patriarch Abraham, having raised the altar, would have sacrificed his own son at the command of God; there the Son of God, whom he prefigured, was afterwards offered up as a sacrifice to God the Father for the redemption of the world.[24]

Unlike the aedicule, the chapel of Calvary has survived intact except for its mosaics, of which only a fragment, albeit a very fine one, survives.[25] Past and recent structural additions have somewhat marred the appearance of this building and have completely hidden the dedicatory inscription that was placed on its western façade in 1149. The original access to Calvary from the parvis via the external staircase and the very beautiful Chapel of the Franks on the eastern side of the façade was blocked, probably by Saladin. More recently two staircases which allow two-way traffic to this important site were added to the west of the chapel.

In order to include Golgotha and Calvary in the church (rather than being located in its courtyard) the Franks built a two-storey chapel occupying the eastern half of the south wing of the transept. It consists of four groin-vaulted bays. Below Calvary, in the Chapel of Adam, the fractured rock of Golgotha can be viewed. The pilgrim entering the church could move from chapel to chapel, ending his pilgrimage at the Sepulchre. At Golgotha he left the cross that he had carried on his journey, as a token of the completion of his pilgrimage. Theoderich records that he saw on Golgotha a great quantity of crosses which the pilgrims had brought with them and which the guardians of Calvary would burn on Easter eve.[26]

From the ambulatory between the eastern and southern chapels, a broad staircase descends to the Chapel of St Helena, a domed square chapel. It has two apses in the east and, in place of the southern apse, another staircase leading down into the cave or cistern known as the Chapel of the Finding of the Cross, where the Holy Cross, and according to some accounts the Crown of Thorns and the hammer and nails used in the Crucifixion, were said to have been found by Constantine's mother, Helena. Here is the third, southern apse, on a somewhat different alignment and further to the east than the two apses on the upper level.

When he occupied the city in 1187 Saladin ignored the demands of some of the emirs to destroy the church. He realized that it was the sanctity of the site, not of the building

which stood upon it, that attracted the veneration of the Christians. He ordered the closure of the church pending his decision on its fate. In the final event he replaced the Latin clergy with Greeks and made some minor changes aimed at restricting the entry of pilgrims into the church. It was probably at this time that the eastern portal of the main gate, the entrance via the Chapel of the Franks and the western entrance into the gallery of the Rotunda from Patriarch's Street were blocked. He may also have removed the bells from the belfry.

Templum Domini

Because of the importance of the events which took place there, the Church of the Holy Sepulchre was held in higher regard than other Crusader churches. Perhaps foremost among the other churches was the *Templum Domini* (the Dome of the Rock). Consequently, it is prominently featured on the medieval maps of the city, is depicted on the royal seals of the kings of Jerusalem alongside the Church of the Holy Sepulchre and the Tower of David and is described in detail in most of the *itineraria*. Abbot Daniel described the building a few years before the Franks carried out substantial changes:

> The Church of the Holy of Holies is wonderfully and artistically decorated with mosaics, and its beauty is indescribable. It is round in form, and the exterior is covered with magnificent paintings, of the beauty of which one cannot give any conception. The walls, as well as the floor, are faced with beautiful slabs of precious marble. Under the roof there is a circle of twelve monolithic columns, and eight pillars. There are four doors covered with plates of gilded copper. The interior of the dome is decorated with marvelously beautiful designs in mosaic . . .[27]

By identifying the Umayyad shrine on the Temple Mount with the biblical Temple, the Franks were able to justify leaving this remarkable Muslim building intact after they occupied the city in 1099. Some of the Franks actually seem to have believed that the building was indeed the Jewish Temple. Others perhaps preferred to ignore the evidence of its Islamic origins, some of which disappeared with the conversion of the Dome of the Rock into a church. However, as noted above (p. 91, n. 48) the origins of the building were well known to some.[28] Fulcher of Chartres wrote:

> In this city is the Temple of the Lord, a round structure, at the place where Solomon had formerly built one which was more wonderful. Although in no wise can this temple be compared to that former one, yet it is most beautifully made and of marvellous workmanship.[29]

Daniel wrote:

> The ancient church of the Holy of Holies has been destroyed. Nothing is left of the ancient building of Solomon except the original foundations of the Temple which the prophet David began to lay. The cavern and stone beneath the cupola are the sole remains of the ancient building; as for the present church, it was built by a chief of the Saracens named Amor.[30]

Others, like the first prior of the Temple, Arcard of Arrouaise, believed that the *Templum Domini* had been built by one of the Byzantine emperors.[31]

It was necessary to carry out certain changes in order to give the building a Christian character and to protect it from the growing numbers of pilgrims and their increasing desire to obtain holy relics. This work commenced around 1114–15 and continued over a number of years. The changes included covering the rock with marble slabs and enclosing it in an iron grille.[32] These measures were taken not only to put an end to the removal of pieces of rock by pilgrims but also, it would appear, for aesthetic purposes. Fulcher of Chartres wrote: 'Moreover this rock, because it disfigured the Temple of the Lord, was afterwards covered over and paved with marble'.[33] An altar and a pair of large iron candelabra were set up on the marble paving.[34] Theoderich mentions an altar at the entrance to the choir which was dedicated to St Nicholas.[35] The interior of the building was covered with frescoes, including representations of Jacob's Vision at Bethel and the Presentation in the Temple, and with Latin inscriptions.[36] A great cross was raised on the dome. Although this cross was not mentioned in accounts before that of John of Würzburg (*c.* 1160), it most likely was in place much earlier.[37] By these measures the building was physically converted into a church. It was officially consecrated on the third day after Easter 1141 by the papal legate, Alberic, cardinal of Ostia, aided by the Patriarch, Aimery of Limoges, and some of the bishops.[38]

The dome of the *Templum Domini* was described by al-Muqaddasi in the tenth century as being plated with gilded brass.[39] However, both William of Tyre and John of Würzburg refer to it as being covered with lead.[40] This was probably an intentional measure taken by the Franks together with the rebuilding of the Holy Sepulchre in order to restore the balance between the two religious focuses in the city, the Temple Mount and the Holy Sepulchre. By enhancing the latter and lessening somewhat the visual impact of the former, a degree of parity was achieved. Not surprisingly, under Saladin the dome was regilded.[41]

From 1112 Augustinian canons were installed in the church. At some stage shortly thereafter they were housed in an abbey built in the northern part of the platform. Almost nothing is known of the conventual buildings of the canons which were completely removed by Saladin. John of Würzburg wrote that the north side of the platform was partly narrowed due to the construction of the canons' cloister on it.[42] Al-Idrîsî describes the gardens and refectory:

> Opposite to the northern gate [of the Dome of the Rock] is a beautiful garden, planted with all sorts of trees, and round this garden is set a colonnade of marble, of most wondrous workmanship. In the further part of this garden is a place of assembly, where priests and deacons are wont to take their repasts.[43]

Theoderich noted that these quarters, together with those of the Templars, occupied two sides of the outer court of the Temple Mount where the canons and Templars built houses and planted gardens.[44]

In 1187, following the Ayyubid conquest, the Dome of the Rock reverted to Muslim use. The gold cross was lowered from the dome and was dragged through the streets to the Tower of David, where it was melted down. The altar and marble plates were removed from over the rock and the frescoes were effaced.

St Mary on Mount Zion and the Cenacle

Another important church in Crusader Jerusalem was St Mary on Mount Zion. This church with its abbey marked the traditional site of some of the central events in the Gospels, notably the Last Supper, the place where Christ reappeared to his disciples after the Crucifixion, where he showed Thomas his wounds and where the Virgin Mary died. Here also were the tombs of David and Solomon and the tomb of St Stephen. St Mary on Mount Zion was one of the great churches under Byzantine rule. It was originally built in the late fourth or early fifth century by the bishop of Jerusalem (either Maximus or John II), and its importance in the Byzantine period is reflected in the appellation 'Mother of the Churches'. It was damaged by the Persians in 614 and was subsequently repaired by Modestus. By the eleventh century St Mary was in ruins, probably destroyed by Caliph al-Hâkim. When the fortifications of the city were rebuilt following the earthquake of 1033, the ruined church which was now outside the city, was probably used as a source of building stones.

St Mary was apparently rebuilt by the Franks in the first decades of the twelfth century, using stones from the destroyed Byzantine basilica and from Eudocia's now-destroyed walls.[45] The Augustinian church and the Chapel of the Last Supper were recorded by Fretellus around 1130.[46] Measuring 72 m by 36 m, it was the second largest church in twelfth-century Jerusalem.[47] Phocas called it by its traditional name of 'Mother of the Churches' and notes that it was 'of great size, with a vaulted roof'.[48] Describing the Christian traditions of the site, Fretellus wrote:

> on the east, is the place where, eight days after [the resurrection], the doors being shut, He [Christ] again appeared to His disciples, when Thomas also was present, saying, 'Peace be unto you,' and He showed them His hands and His side, and offered them to be touched, as the Evangelist's narrative relates. And above one ascends by steps to the place where He supped with His Apostles . . .[49]

He mentions a table which was shown to pilgrims as the actual table of the Last Supper.[50] This may have been a mosaic or fresco rendition of the scene, but from some sources it seems that a table was indeed shown.[51] Theoderich's description is similar; he wrote that the church was domed and had about thirty steps at the end of the apse leading to the upper chamber, where the table of the Last Supper could be seen.[52] In the chamber below was a stone basin in which Christ washed the feet of the Apostles, on the right was an altar marking the place where Thomas felt the wound in Christ's side, and through an antechamber was an altar over the Tomb of St Stephen. Raymond of Aguilers noted that, as well as St Stephen's tomb, there were also tombs of David and Solomon in the church.[53] Other sources make no mention of the ancient royal tombs, apart from Benjamin of Tudela, who records a highly imaginative and entertaining account of how the ancient royal tombs were rediscovered, together with a golden crown and sceptre, when a wall in the church collapsed.[54]

Like most Crusader churches, St Mary was a triapsidal basilica.[55] Theoderich notes that the church was 'well fortified with walls, towers and battlements against the assaults of the infidels'.[56] Al-Idrîsî calls it as 'a beautiful church, and fortified'.[57] Phocas also refers to the fortifications, stating that the church was in a 'castle'.[58] Defences were

important because of its location outside the city walls. This type of fortified church can best be seen today at Nabi Samâwil (*Montjoie*).[59] Phocas adds some other details:

> When one has entered the beautiful gates thereof, on the left side is the house of St John the Evangelist, wherein the thrice-blessed Virgin dwelt after the Resurrection, and where she fell asleep. In that place there is a small cell surrounded by an iron railing, and two bosses on the spot where the Blessed Virgin yielded up her soul to her Son and to God. On the right side of the church, on the right-hand side of the altar, there is an upper chamber, having a stair of sixty-one steps leading to it. This church has four arches and a dome. On the left side of the upper chamber may be seen the place where the Lord's Supper took place; in the apse took place the descent of the Holy Spirit upon the Apostles. In the lower part of this church took place the washing (of the Apostles' feet); and opposite it is a church on the spot where the building stood in which Christ entered to the Apostles, although the doors were closed. There, after his stoning, the protomartyr Stephen was buried and was removed by Gamaliel to another place.[60]

The interesting, if not reliable illustrations of the church on the round maps of Jerusalem show two distinct buildings on Mount Zion: the church of St Mary and the Cenacle (Chapel of the Last Supper) appear as separate buildings.[61]

After 1187 Saladin's brother al-Malik al-'Adîl, who was appointed as governor of Jerusalem, took up his headquarters in the convent. The church apparently did not survive, and its stones were probably used in the refortification carried out by al-Malik al-'Adîl. Although *La Citez* records a church of Holy Mary where the house where Jesus supped with His Apostles was located, this was most likely a reference to the Cenacle and not the entire basilica.[62] Further on *La Citez* describes the large basilica as being destroyed: 'There was a great church, which is thrown down, where our lady died, and thence the Apostles bore her to Jehosaphat'.[63] In short, it appears that the great twelfth-century basilica which replaced the destroyed Byzantine church was itself destroyed by the Ayyubids and replaced by the small chapel which contained the room of the Last Supper.[64]

The Cenacle is something of an enigma. The first-floor hall was built in the French Gothic ('First-Pointed') style (Plate 12.3, Figure 12.2).[65] It is the only medieval Gothic building in Jerusalem, a fact which has led to some confusion regarding the date of its construction. Hugh Plommer notes that the use of *tas de charge* (single block, multiple-ribbed springers above the pillars and capitals) is evidence either for a comparatively late date (i.e. *c.* 1200), or alternatively for the building being early but very advanced.[66] Enlart gives the date of its construction (or rather reconstruction) as after 1239 (viz 1229).[67] He claims that the Church of St Mary on Mount Zion and the Cenacle were vandalized between 1187 and 1229 and therefore the building must have been rebuilt by Frederick II, though he admits that there is no contemporary evidence for this vandalism.[68] Plommer's suggestion that the Church of St Mary was destroyed only by the Khawarizmians is clearly untenable.[69] De Vogüé suggested that the Gothic Cenacle was built in the fourteenth century.[70] In 1342 a papal bull of Pope Clement VI placed the site in the hands of the Franciscans.[71] On stylistic evidence, notably the comparison

Plate 12.3 The Chapel of the Last Supper (Cenacle) (photograph by the author).

to the east wing of Canterbury which predates 1174–90, Plommer suggests a twelfth-century date (i.e. before 1187).

The Cenacle has two aisles, each consisting of three rib-vaulted bays measuring 5 m by 5 m. Thus the entire hall measures 10 m by 15 m (originally longer, as the walls at either end are late additions). The height of the vault at the apex is *c.* 6 m.

Church of the Ascension

Another major church located outside the walls of the city was the Church of the Ascension on the Mount of Olives. This was the traditional site where Christ rose to heaven after the crucifixion. A circular-plan Byzantine church on the top of the Mount of Olives was destroyed by the Persians in 614. Under the Crusaders a new church was constructed on the site in two stages. First an octagonal aedicule (without the present dome which is of later date) was constructed over the rock on which was preserved the footprint of Christ. Later a larger octagonal church was built around it, enclosing the aedicule (Figure 12.3).[72] In 1959 Virgilio Corbo excavated the south-east corner of the church.[73] He exposed a curved segment of the Byzantine foundation, thus resolving the issue of the shape of the Byzantine church which some scholars believed to have also been octagonal. The Crusader design has been compared to the Dome of the Rock, and it seems that this church was an imitation of the Umayyad structure.[74] It contains some remarkably beautiful capitals around the exterior of the central structure (Plate 12.4).

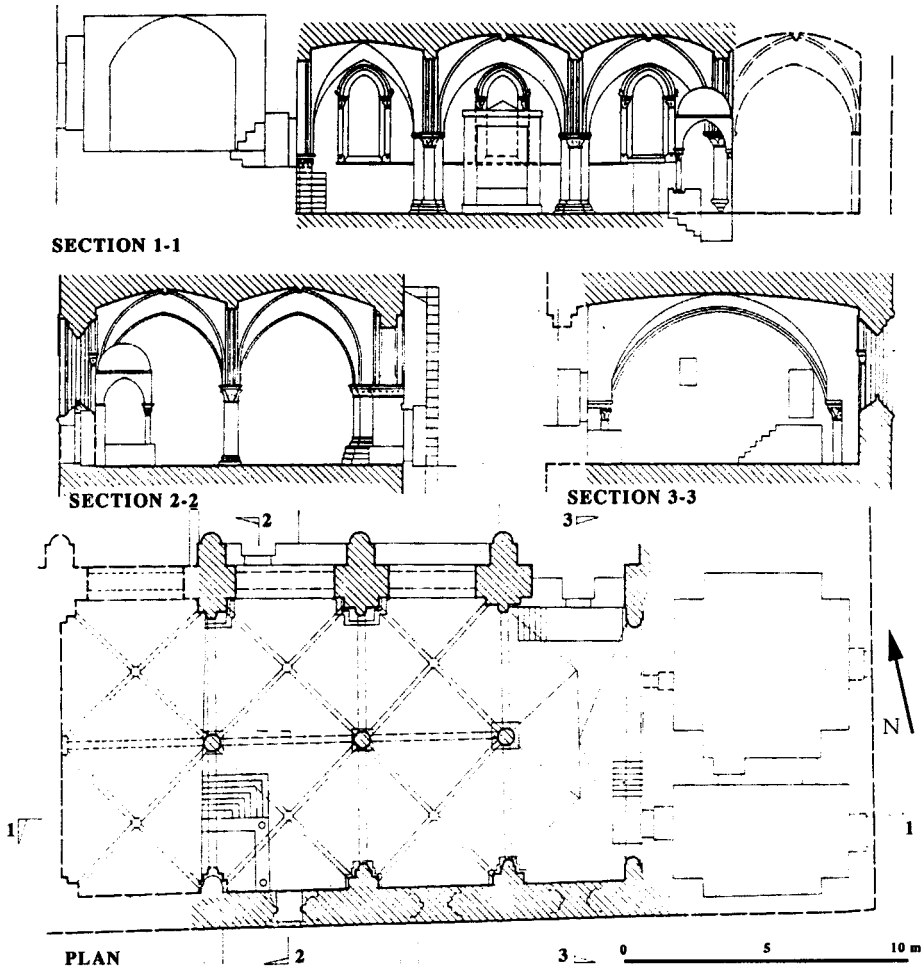


Figure 12.2 Plan of the Cenacle (after Plommer 1982).

Church of St Anne

Among the more important churches within the walls was the Benedictine church and convent of St Anne, located to the south-east of the Sheep's Pool beside the Gate of Jehoshaphat (Plate 12.5). This convent was founded at the beginning of Frankish rule and became one of the wealthiest and most important ecclesiastical establishments in the city. Its status was to a considerable extent the outcome of royal patronage, which perhaps originated in the decision of Baldwin I to place his estranged wife Arda in the convent in 1104 and continued later when the convent was graced with the presence of Princess Yvette, daughter of Baldwin II and sister of Queen Melisende. Amongst the royal endowments to this convent were several shops in the central market street, *Malquisinat*.

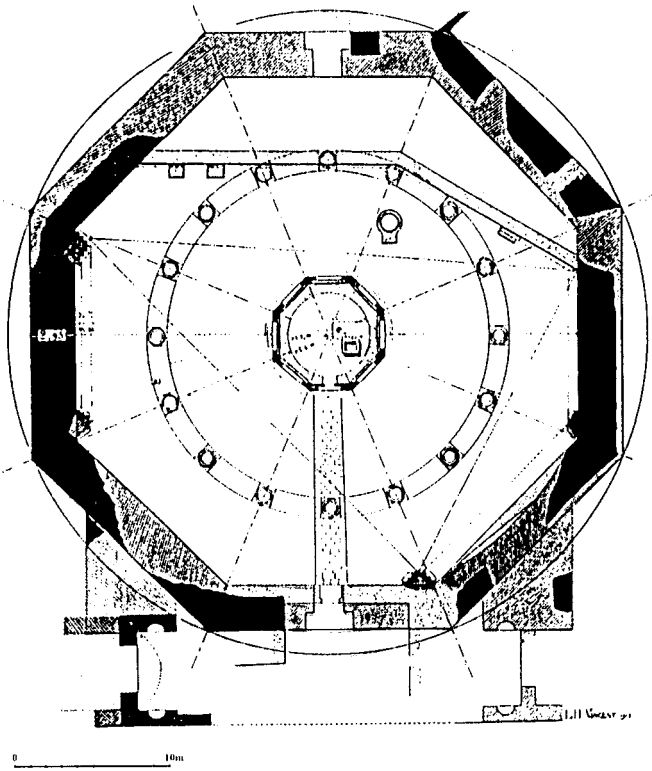


Figure 12.3 Plan of the Church of the Ascension (Corbo 1965).

The Church of St Anne was built over the remains of a Byzantine church dedicated to St Anne, mother of the Virgin Mary, and traditionally marking the place where Anne and Joachim lived.[75] The site also indicated the place where Jesus healed a cripple who had been lame for thirty-eight years.[76] The Byzantine church may have been destroyed by the Fatimid Caliph al-Hâkim in 1009. It was replaced in the period of Seljuk rule with a *Shâfi'i* school.[77] However, as the convent existed in 1104 there must have been a church or chapel on the site before the new Romanesque basilica was constructed in the 1140s. Fretellus refers to a church of St Anne in *c.* 1130.[78]

In 1192 Saladin converted the church into a law college for '*Ulama* (learned men) of the orthodox Muslim *Shâfi'i* school. Its first president (*shaikh*) was Saladin's biographer, the *qâdî* Ibn Shaddâd. Although it later fell into a very dilapidated state, the church survived throughout the period of Muslim rule. Eventually in 1865, as a gesture of gratitude to Napoleon III for his alliance with the Ottoman Empire during the Crimean War, St Anne was given to France and was restored.

None of the conventual buildings survive, although a vague idea of them can be obtained from two nineteenth-century illustrations in which a two-storey groin-vaulted structure can be seen to the south of the church.[79] Only the Church of St Anne itself and remnants of the small church, the Moustier, which stood on the wall dividing the two pools, have survived.

Plate 12.4 Capital in the Church of the Ascension (photograph by the author).

Plate 12.5 Church of St Anne (photograph by the author).

St Anne is a Romanesque triapsidal basilica (Figure 12.4), fairly standard apart from the inscribed transept and the cupola at the junction of nave and transept, both of which are features less typical of Crusader churches. The west front of the church has a central hood-arched door and a second door on the south. There are two windows above the main door, one above the other, the upper one nearly as large as the door (this feature reflects, on a smaller scale, the double portal and windows of the south façade of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre). Above this is a shallow gable. This is how the church was restored by architect M. Mauss after it came into French hands in 1856. However, it is somewhat misleading as it ignores the existence of a round window (*oculus*) which was originally located above the upper window. Part of this window survived until the nineteenth century and it can be seen in eighteenth- and nineteenth-century illustrations.[80] It is clear from these illustrations that the roof of the nave and the west front of the church were originally somewhat higher than they are at present.[81] However, nothing of this window was left by 1860. It does not appear on the illustration of the church in that year published by Van der Vliet.[82]

The crypt of the church, originally a cave, is traditionally identified as the birthplace of the Virgin Mary. The belfry in the south-west corner was, in the Crusader period, one of the most imposing features of the church. From illustrations of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries it would appear that it was nothing less than a copy of the great belfry of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, on a smaller scale.[83] It was a massive structure somewhat taller than the church. On its upper level it had large, hood-arched, double windows and, like the belfry of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, it was

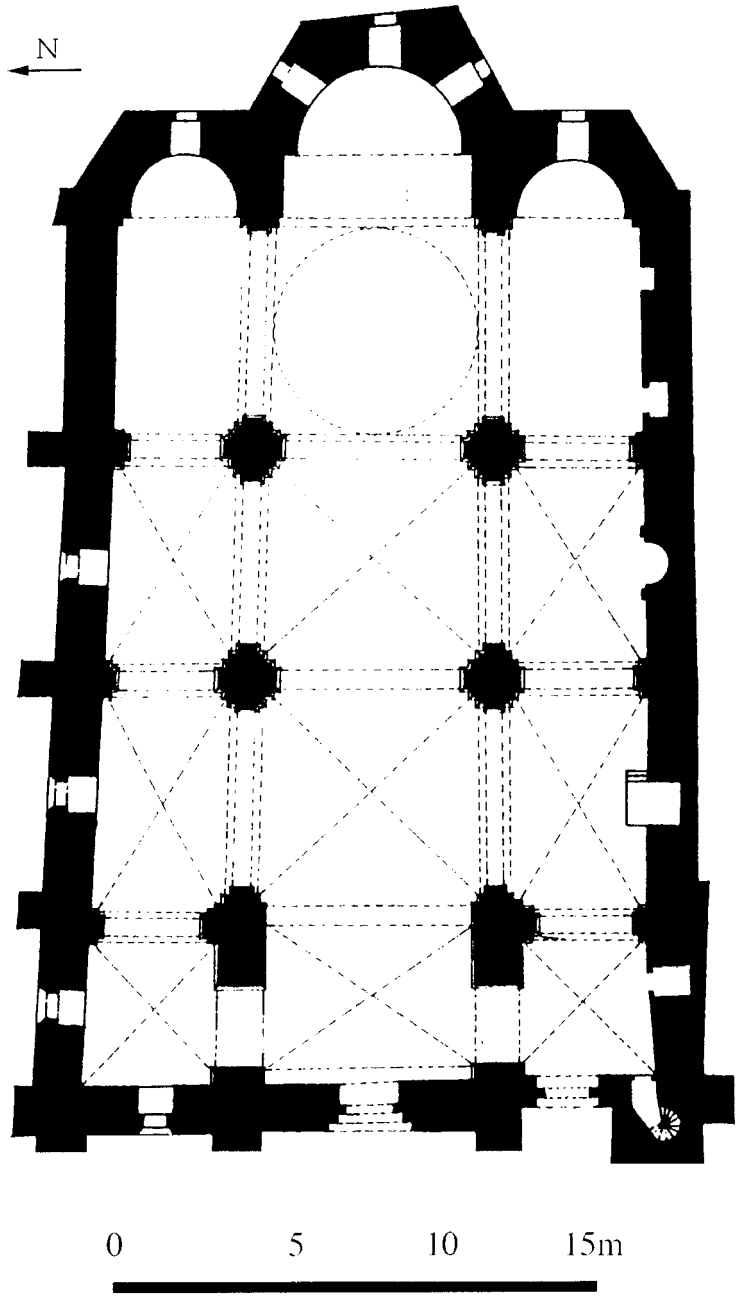


Figure 12.4 Plan of the Church of St Anne (after Vincent and Abel 1926).

supported by buttresses. In the illustrations it has a dome, but this may have been a later addition.[84] The small belfry constructed in the nineteenth century is a completely new structure owing nothing to the original tower. In all probability Mauss had no knowledge of the original belfry and had not seen the illustrations of it. He constructed a small and unpretentious tower on the base of the ruined minaret which the Muslims had constructed in the south-western corner of the church some time after 1820.[85]

A considerable part of the aesthetic appeal of this church today lies in its simplicity, accentuated by the fact that nothing remains of the mosaics and frescoes that originally covered its walls.[86]

Church of the Tomb of the Virgin Mary in Jehoshaphat

Another major church, that of the Tomb of the Virgin Mary, is situated at the bottom of the Valley of Jehoshaphat below the Mount of Olives at Gethsemane (Plate 12.6). In the Crusader period this was the church of a Benedictine Cluniac abbey. It was one of the more affluent ecclesiastical establishments in the kingdom, having received from the kings and barons extensive holdings throughout the Latin East and in Sicily, Calabria and Apulia, as well as exemptions on customs dues in the ports. The origins of this church go back to between the fourth and sixth centuries.[87] In *c.* 680, the pilgrim Arculfus describes two round churches, one above the other, marking the site of the Assumption of the Virgin Mary.[88] The history of this church is similar to that of many other churches in Jerusalem. According to the Christian historian, Eutychius, writing in about 876, it was destroyed by the Persians in 614. The destruction was probably only of the upper church, which was most likely rebuilt by Modestus in around 616. By the time of the First Crusade the upper church was once again in ruins, perhaps destroyed by al-Hâkim or by earthquakes in the eleventh century. Although Saewulf wrote in 1103 that the church was standing, Daniel referred to the upper church with its timber roof as 'devastated by the unbelievers'.[89] From 1112 on the Benedictines rebuilt the church and monastic buildings. They apparently enlarged the stairway, adding its Romanesque vaulting and entrance façade. The upper church as probably rebuilt with a basilical plan. The tomb chamber was decorated with frescoes representing the Dormition and Assumption of the Virgin and a remarkable new aedicule decorated with typically Frankish marble sculpture was built. John of Würzburg describes the tomb in detail as a dome-like structure of gold and silver encased in marble and decorated with magnificent paintings within the fresco-decorated crypt.[90] Theoderich described in no less detail the marble and mosaic decorated sepulchre entered from the west and exited from the north, surrounded by twenty columns, carrying arches, a border and a domed roof supported by six pairs of columns, and with a ball and cross above it. He noted that between each pair of columns around the dome hung a lamp.[91]

In 1161 Queen Melisende was buried in a small chapel on the right-hand side of the staircase. Theoderich notes this chapel without identifying its use.[92] William of Tyre mentions it on the right as one descends the steps of Mary's tomb.[93]

The *parvis* before the entrance to the lower church was enclosed by a cloister in which Godfrey of Bouillon's cousin Granier de Grey (the knight who had helped ensure the transition of rule from Godfrey to his brother Baldwin in 1101) and a

Plate 12.6 Church of the Tomb of the Virgin in Jehoshaphat (photograph by the author).

knight named Arnulf of Oudenarde were buried.[94] This is one of several examples of the practice of burying important people near royal and holy burial places.[95]

To the west of the church remains were uncovered after sewage works were carried out on the site in 1937. C.N. Johns identified these as remains of the conventual buildings of the twelfth-century Benedictine abbey of St Mary. They included sections of flagged and mosaic pavements, a drain, various architectural pieces and a series of rooms to the north of the pavement, where a massive pier-base was uncovered suggesting that the buildings here were more than one storey high.[96] Johns published a conjectural restoration of the abbey showing a cloister to the south adjacent to the parvis of the church and conventual buildings to its north and west.

After the occupation of the city by Saladin in 1187, the upper church and the conventual buildings were destroyed and the stones were used for repairing the city walls. In the fifteenth century Felix Fabri records that there was

> beside it [the church] once a monastery of monks of the order of St Benedict, and a mitred Abbot; but now not even the ruins of this monastery can be seen, but there are gardens of olives and fig-trees around the church.[97]

The subterranean church is cruciform in plan (Figure 12.5). It is entered via a simple double-arched façade and a monumental staircase of forty-eight steps. The tomb of the Virgin is on the right-hand side of the crypt. The crypt has apses on the east and west

and a small chamber to the north. Like the Church of St Mary on Mount Zion, this church and its conventual buildings were surrounded by fortifications. Theoderich writes: 'The church itself and all the conventual buildings connected with it are strongly fortified with high walls, strong towers and battlements'.[98]

The very similar accounts of Burchard of Mount Zion and Marino Sanudo make the remarkable suggestion that the subterranean church was an ancient one which was originally above ground but became subterranean through Hadrian having dumped rubble from the Temple on the site.[99] A more plausible history of the church is suggested by Pierotti, Bagatti and others who wrote that the aedicule was originally a tomb monument similar to other rock-cut monuments further south in the valley and that at a later time it was built over and became a monument in a crypt church.[100] Rather than rubble from the Temple the church has become subterranean because of the large quantities of soil washed down the valley by the winter rains.

Churches of the Hospitallers

Within the Hospitallers' Quarter were three churches: the early church of St John the Baptist in the south-west, and two eleventh-century churches, St Mary Minor (Latin) and St Mary Major.[101]

Church of St John the Baptist

The earliest of the churches is the small trefoil-plan church in the south-west of the quarter, St John the Baptist. This late Byzantine church had been destroyed several times and was restored in the twelfth century and later. Under the Crusaders it became the conventual church of the Order of the Hospitallers of St John. It was most recently restored in 1847 and today serves the Greek Orthodox community.[102]

The present crypt, now reached by a staircase and a door in the south-west, was once at ground level as can be seen by the blocked windows and door. The stairs lead to the narthex, where three doors (that to the north is now blocked) give access to the church. The church is divided into three bays, each ending in an apse; the central bay extends to the east. Parts of the interior, the vaulting and the staircase are later additions to the original structure. Schick noted that at the southern end of the narthex is a masonry mass which could have been the base of the belfry.[103] A remarkable gold and crystal mitre-shaped reliquary of the Crusader period was kept in the church and is now on display in the Greek Orthodox Patriarchate museum.[104]

The other two churches were remarkably similar in plan to one another (Figure 12.6). Some fragments of these churches survived till the end of the nineteenth century and Conrad Schick published fairly detailed plans of them. The northern portal and the cloisters (Plate 12.7) of St Mary Minor can still be seen and a small section of the central apse of St Mary Major was recently re-exposed under the floor of one of the shops in the modern market.[105] Eighteenth-century drawing by the Franciscan monk, Elzear Horn, and some engravings and early photographs show the apses, northern portal and the cloisters of St Mary Minor as they survived into the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.[106]

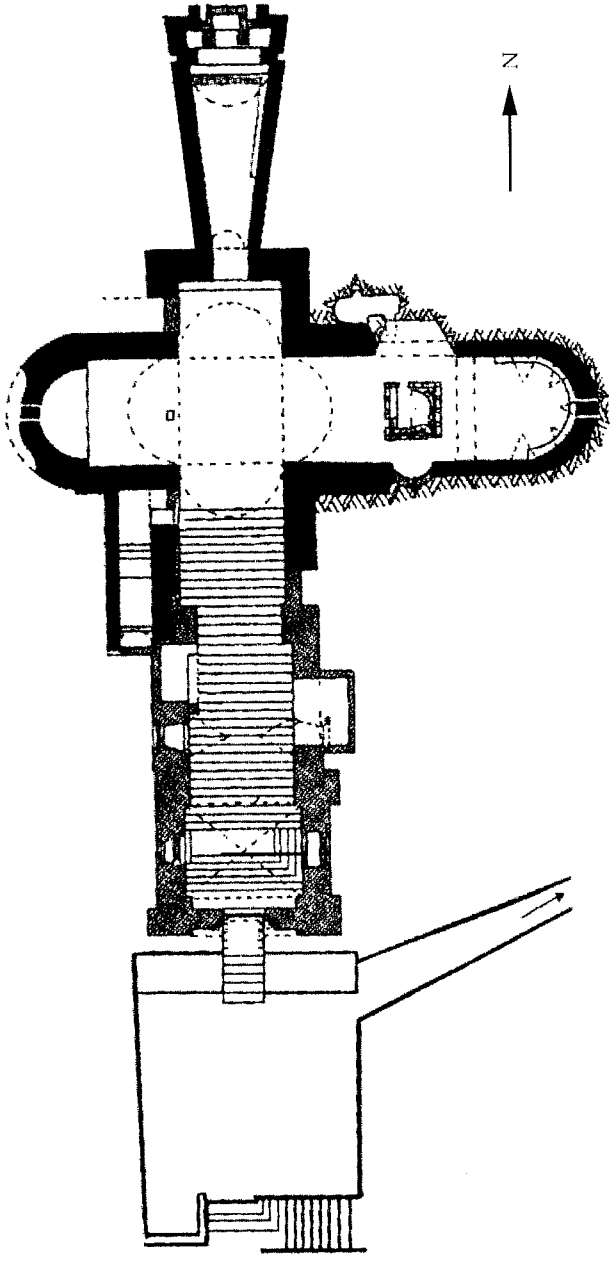
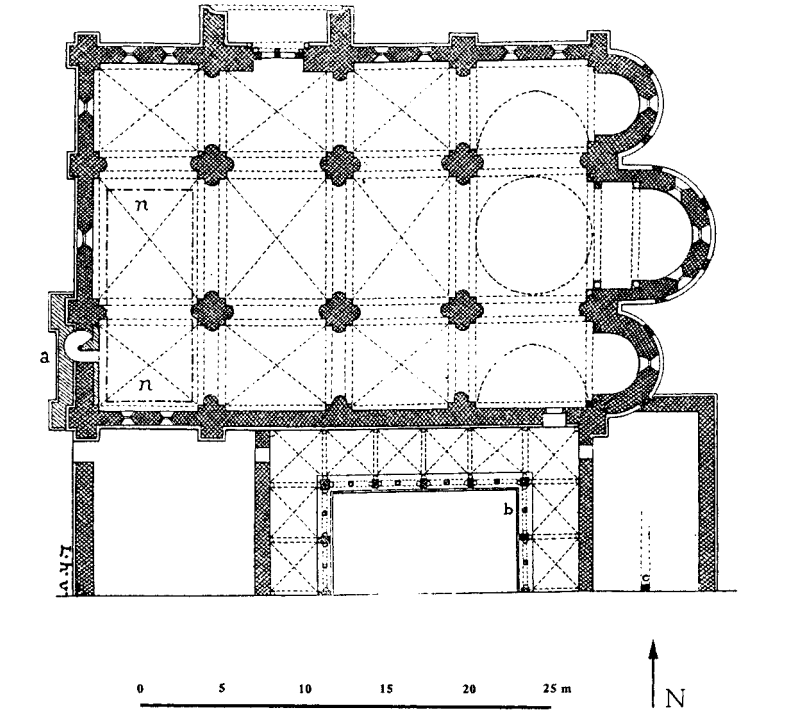


Figure 12.5 Plan of the subterranean church of the Tomb of the Virgin in the Valley of Jehoshaphat (after Vincent and Abel 1926).

St Mary Minor (Latin)

St Mary Minor was built by Amalfitan merchants in 1047 and dedicated *c.* 1060.[107] According to Warren and Conder, it was rebuilt by the Franks around 1130.[108] Little is known of the later history of the church or when it was destroyed; the latter may have taken place in the destruction of al-Mu'azzam 'Isâ in 1229.[109] By the late



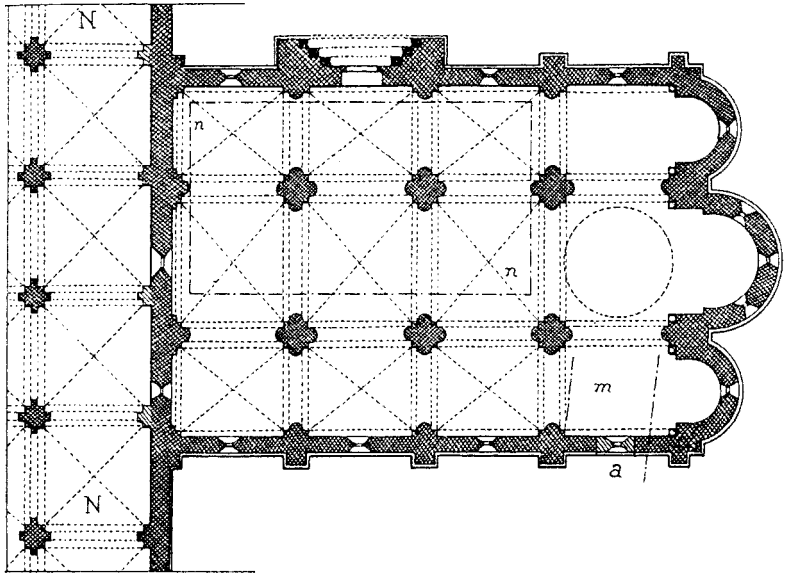


Figure 12.6 Plan of the churches of St Mary Latin and St Mary Major in the Hospitallers' Quarter (after Schick 1901).

Plate 12.7 Cloister of St Mary Latin (photograph by the author).

nineteenth century the ruins of the church and the adjacent convent were used as a tannery.[110]

St Mary Minor was a triapsidal basilica with the nave and aisles each consisting of four groin-vaulted bays and with a belfry in the south-west. The remarkable, round-arched northern portal and the cloisters to the south (much rebuilt in the fifteenth century) have been preserved in the Lutheran Church of the Redeemer which was built on the site at the end of the nineteenth century. The portal is decorated with representations of the twelve months and their names in Latin. In the centre of the arch is the word 'Luna'.[111] The western portal was apparently a minor, secondary door.

The church was constructed from diagonally and occasionally horizontally or vertically-tooled ashlars, some of which had masons' marks. The floor was of marble mosaic. According to Anonymous Pilgrim II, the church had important relics: St Philip's head and some of St Mary's hair.[112] To the south of the church were the conventual buildings, including the cloister, now restored, and a long hall to its south which Pierotti suggested may have been its refectory.[113]

We have already remarked that opinions vary as to the identity of this church.[114] De Vogüé identified it as St Mary Major, as did Warren and Conder in the *Survey of Western Palestine*.[115] Schick and most modern scholars identify it with St Mary Minor.[116]

St Mary Major

The other church, St Mary Major, almost identical, in plan to St Mary Minor, was dedicated in 1080.[117] It too had a large northern portal and a belfry in the south-west.[118] It probably also had direct access to the Hospital which was located next to its western wall, and it could have been used by the patients and staff of the hospital for their devotions. Under the church were cisterns; according to Schick, there seems to have been a two-storey crypt below the southern aisle.[119]

Churches of the Germans

The German community in Jerusalem possessed at least two churches, St Mary Alemannorum (St Mary of the Germans) and St Thomas Alemannorum.

St Mary Alemannorum

Part of this church has survived. It was a small triapsidal basilica located on the Street of the Germans in the south-east quarter of the city. It was built in *c.* 1143 as part of the German hospital.[120] A trial excavation carried out by Asher Ovadiah in 1968 uncovered the church and the two-storey hall to its south.[121] There was originally a third building on the north. The church measures 20 m by 12 m (Plate 12.8). It has a nave and two aisles divided by two rows of simple square piers. To the east is a flat chevet in which are the three apses. There were two windows in each of the side apses (one above the other) and at least one large window in the central apse. According to Ovadiah there were three entrances on the west, four on the north connecting the

church with the adjacent courtyard building (which may have been the hospital) and one on the south giving access to the upper storey of the structure.[122]

St Thomas Alemannorum

The second German church was St Thomas Alemannorum (St Thomas of the Germans). This has been tentatively identified with the remains of a small triapsidal church, located on the first floor of a building in the south-east of the city and west of St Mary Alemannorum. This church was known in the nineteenth century and is described in the *Survey of Western Palestine* after being visited in 1872 and 1881:

> remains of a chapel, now converted into a living room, in the house of a Morocco Jew. It is situated on the south side of the street called Harat el Meidan, where it runs east and west . . . It is perhaps this chapel which was called St. Thomas of the Germans. There are only two apses visible on the east side of the room, which are now fitted with wooden doors, and used as cupboards. They measure 5 feet and 7 1/2 feet in diameter, the southern being the largest. A third probably exists behind the south wall of the room. The length was about 12 feet. The roof consists of two groin vaults, but the whole is so covered with whitewash and plaster as to be barely recognizable as medieval work.[123]

This church was subsequently forgotten until it was rediscovered in 1967.[124] Bahat and Reich estimate that it originally measured approximately 12 m by 8.5 m (external dimensions) and had a nave and two aisles divided by two rows of columns with fairly crude capitals.[125] Around the walls are the remains of a running cornice.

K. and S. Bieberstein have disputed the identity of the church in the Jewish Quarter with St Thomas Alemannorum.[126] They believe that St Thomas Alemannorum should be identified with the small church of St Thomas in the Armenian Quarter and suggest identifying the church in the Jewish Quarter with *St Peter ad Vincula* (St Peter in Chains). However, Bahat notes that St Peter is referred to in medieval sources as having a crypt where St Peter was chained, whereas this church is located on the first floor level.[127]

The Armenian Churches

The Armenian Cathedral of St James was built by the Armenian community on a site in their quarter that was identified as the burial place of the first bishop of Jerusalem, St James the Minor. This was also traditionally the place where the head of St James the Major (the Apostle) was buried after his beheading by Herod Agrippa in AD 44.[128] In the eleventh or twelfth century the Armenians acquired the Georgian church which occupied the site and constructed their new church and monastery over it. The church is Eastern in design, with a six-ribbed dome, four piers at the centre of the church supporting the cupola and aisles and nave of the same height, but with typically Frankish masonry. In view of the style of the vaulting of the nave and aisles and the arched entrance to the south porch, Folda suggested that masons from the Holy

Plate 12.8 Church of St Mary of the Germans (photograph by the author).

Sepulchre masons' yard may have worked here between 1141 and 1149.[129] The church is recorded by John of Würzburg:

> In the same [Armenian] quarter, not far away, down the descent beyond another street, there is a large church built in honour of St James the Great, inhabited by Armenian monks, and they have in the same place a large hospice for the reception of the poor of their nation. Therein is preserved with great veneration the head of that Apostle, for he was beheaded by Herod, and his body was placed by his disciples on board a ship at Joppa and carried to Galicia, but his head remained in Palestine. This same head is at the present day exhibited in this church to pilgrims.[130]

Other churches in the Armenian Quarter are St James Intercisus and the small church of St Thomas.

St James Intercisus

St James Intercisus is a single-aisled chapel (now used as a mosque) roofed with a barrel vault and with a smaller groin vault in front of the apse. The entrance is in the west and stairs built in the thickness of the northern wall give access to an upper level. There are three embrasure windows in the south, a window in the apse and two small doors in the groin-vaulted space in front of the apse.[131]

St Thomas

Remains of St Thomas survive and were briefly described and illustrated by Vincent and Abel.[132] Similar in plan to St James Intercisus, it was also a single-aisled church. It had two entrances, one on the south and one on the west which gave access to a vestibule, also accessed from the south. According to Schick, this southern entrance and the vestibule were added at a later date. Small rooms were located on either side of the groin-vaulted chamber in front of the apse.

Other churches of the Eastern Rite

St Chariton

The Syrian church of St Chariton was located to the north of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre. It is shown in this volume on the Cambrai map (Plate 9.1) and complies with the description of John of Würzburg:

> Also, leading out of the street which leads from the Gate of St Stephen towards the side of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, there is a small street in which in a church of the Syrians rests the body of the holy martyr Chariton, which is there held in great veneration by the Syrian monks, which body, being at the present day almost entire, is kept in a wooden coffer, the lid of which is taken off when it is shown to pilgrims.[133]

St Peter ad Vincula (St Peter in Chains)

Another possibly Eastern church was *St Peter ad Vincula* (St Peter in Chains). John of Würzburg described this church and its 'deep and dark' crypt which, according to tradition, was the prison in which St Peter was incarcerated, bound in chains, by the order of Herod.[134] Excavations in the 1970s uncovered a large columned building measuring 16.3 m by 11.4 m, to the south of the present-day Jewish Quarter, which archaeologist, Nahman Avigad suggested identifying with *St Peter ad Vincula* (Plate 12.9).[135] The structure was roofed with 7.4 metre-high groin-vaulted bays supported by four round pillars and elbow-consoles on the walls. The lack of an apse may be explained if, as Bahat suggests, the remains uncovered actually belong to the basement crypt of the building.[136] If this is the crypt, its four-pillar layout probably reflects the plan of the upper storey with the four pillars possibly supporting a dome, a design used in churches of the Eastern rite. The large and monumental crypt would be appropriate in a church in which the crypt (where St Peter was bound) was the central focus.

St Julian

The church of St Julian has been identified by Dan Bahat with a small triapsidal church located in the east of the city.[137] It has twelve well-preserved groin-vaulted bays and measures 14.8 m by 10.5 m. Klaus Bieberstein opposes Bahat's identification and favours identifying this church with St. John the Evangelist.[138] However, Bahat points

Plate 12.9 St Peter ad Vincula (?) (photograph by the author).

out that Bieberstein's identification of this church is not in accord with the description in *La Citez* which refers to St. John the Evangelist as located on the street which begins at the Gate Dolorous further to the north.[139]

St Mary Magdalene

Another Eastern church was the church St Mary Magdalene, located in the Syrian Quarter north-west of the church of St Anne near the northern wall and the postern named after it.[140] This church is referred to in the cartulary of the Holy Sepulchre, which notes that it was occupied by Jacobite monks; this is also mentioned by John of Würzburg.[141] He also notes that the monks claimed that this was the site of the house of Simon the Leper where Mary Magdalene washed and anointed the feet of Jesus, and the exact place of this event was marked on the floor of the church with a cross.[142] It is likely that the church predated the Crusader period and was perhaps built in 1092, replacing an earlier church which may have been destroyed by al-Hâkim.[143] Pierotti also believed the church to be pre-Crusader on the grounds that it was implausible that the heretical (Monophysite) Jacobites would have been granted a church by the Crusaders and more likely that they would be allowed to retain a church already in their possession.[144] Remains of the church were visible until the late 1920s and were illustrated by Vincent and Abel.[145] In 1864 Pierotti wrote:

> All that remains of this building is the porch, part of the choir, and the side walls, which are left standing at irregular heights above the ground; everything else is a heap of ruins, overgrown with creeping plants . . .[146]

A section of the south and west sides of the groin vaults around the cloister was excavated by Bahat in 1978.[147] It was 7.2 m wide. Bahat notes that the discovery of the cloister extends the area of the complex of the church and its conventual buildings further to the north.[148] He suggests that the cloister was built in 1125 and its western wing was repaired later.[149]

St George in Funda

St George in the Market appears on the Cambrai map west of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, in or near the market where, according to *La Citez*, corn was sold (Plate 9.1).[150] In this area today are the Coptic church of St George (*Mar Jirias*) and Crusader vaults to its north. These were described by Schick in 1900:

> The piers of the southern row are remarkable for their great size – 14 feet long and 5 1/2 feet to 6 1/2 feet wide – just like those in the Muristan and bearing girdle arches of similar hewn stones supporting cross vaults.[151]

These vaults may still be seen despite the changes made in this area during the past century. They may possibly have belonged to a large market hall.

Other Churches

St Stephen

Among other churches in Crusader Jerusalem was the church of St Stephen, located outside the city to the north. As noted above, a church was first built here in honour of St Stephen by Empress Eudocia in the fifth century. It was destroyed by the Persians in 614, rebuilt by Patriarch Sophronius in the same century and destroyed by al-Hâkim at the beginning of the eleventh century.

The twelfth-century church of St Stephen has been identified with a structure discovered in 1880 in the grounds of the Dominican monks, somewhat to the west of the Byzantine church of St Stephen. This building is really nothing more than a chapel. Only a few courses of the walls survived with painted plaster covering the interior walls; the masonry had the typically Frankish diagonal tooling and, on one stone there was a Frankish masons' mark.[152] Wilbrand of Oldenberg described the church of St Stephen in 1211, noting that at the place where the Sultan's asses were kept a dunghill had been formed with the material of the church.[153] However, the excavations carried out by Dominican monks also uncovered a row of five massive medieval barrel-vaults.[154] The presence of these large vaults, which in late nineteenth-century photographs can be seen to have survived to the full (ground-floor) height, presents a difficulty in associating the adjacent chapel with the Crusader church of St Stephen. As already noted, *La Citez* records that the Franks destroyed the church in 1187 in order to prevent it from being used to shelter the approaching Ayyubid army.[155] However the vaults could still have provided adequate shelter by the Ayyubids, making the destruction of the small chapel rather pointless.[156] Perhaps the church of St Stephen is not this small chapel but was located somewhere else and possibly nearer to the city walls.

A second church dedicated to St Stephen is recorded to the south of the city. According to Fretellus, to the left of the Cenacle was 'the Church of St Stephen, where he was buried by John the Patriarch, after he was brought from Cafargamala'.[157]

St Martin

There were many other churches in the city of greater or lesser importance, but all shared the renown that was automatically bestowed on holy places in the holiest of Christian cities. Among these, in the present-day Jewish Quarter, is part of a Crusader church identified as the Church of St Martin and surviving as the Ramban Synagogue. Schick described it in 1893 as 'a portion, or perhaps even the whole Church of St Martin'.[158] This church was long believed to be that recorded by Nachmanides (Ramban) as converted by him into a synagogue in 1267. In a letter to his son he described the building: 'We found a very handsome but destroyed building with marble columns and a beautiful cupola, and started a collection in order to restore this edifice as a synagogue.'[159] Recently it has been suggested that the Church Nachmanides referred to was on Mount Zion.[160] The building in the present Jewish Quarter, which was destroyed after 1948 and was restored again as a synagogue after 1967, consists of a double-vaulted chamber supported on a central row of four columns.[161] This was probably one of the original two rows of columns dividing the church into a nave and two aisles. Of the cupola mentioned by Nachmanides nothing survives.

St Mary above the Cradle

Another small church, St Mary above the Cradle, was located in the south-eastern corner of the Temple Mount. Nothing survives of the church that stood here above the crypt and it was probably destroyed by Saladin as part of his 're-purification' of the Haram al-Sharîf. Fretellus noted that this was 'where one descends by many steps, and where is the cradle of the Saviour, and His bath, and His mother's couch'.[162]

Chapel of Repose

The Chapel of Repose, located just outside and against the north-western corner of the Temple Mount, was traditionally the place where Christ rested on his way to be crucified.[163] This small two-chambered, domed church was probably built around 1160.[164] Four very fine Romanesque capitals decorated with figural sculpture are attributed to this church, each displaying a scene of Christ resting attended by angels.[165]

These are only some of the numerous churches of Crusader Jerusalem. Very little is known of many others, like the Church of St John the Evangelist, part of which may survive opposite the Austrian Hospice, St Bartholemew, which was located in the north-east of the Syrian Quarter, and St Mamilla, which stood outside the city in the cemetery to the west.[166]

Hermitages: the *Vicus Hermetarum*

On the Cambrai map, to the left of the Church of the Tomb of the Virgin and the rock-cut sepulchral chamber known as *Manus Absalom*, in the Valley of Jehoshaphat, is shown a schematic rendition of the *Vicus Hermetarum*, caves occupied by hermits (Plate 9.1).[167] These are mentioned by John of Würzburg:

> In the valley of Jehosaphat, under a sharp-pointed pyramid, is buried that King Jehosaphat from whom the valley has received its name . . . This same valley has many caverns in every part of it, in which religious persons live the lives of hermits.[168]

According to Theoderich:

> Round about it [the tomb of Jehosaphat] there are a great number of dwellings of servants of God, or hermits, all of which are placed under the care of the Abbot of St Mary's.[169]

A Jerusalem hermit named Elias was, for a time, a member of this hermitage or of the nearby abbey of St Mary in Jehoshaphat. His life was recorded by the twelfth-century writer Gerard of Nazareth in a lost work, *Vita abbatis Elie*.[170] The information on Elias' life survives in sixteenth-century commentaries; according to these, around 1131 he withdrew with followers to a cave near Jerusalem. He was persuaded by the

monks of Jehoshaphat and the patriarch of Jerusalem, William of Flanders, to join the monastery, where he remained for some time. Another hermit, a Hungarian named Cosmas, built his cell on the walls of Jerusalem in order to contemplate the Holy City.[171]

CHAPTER THIRTEEN

STREETS AND SQUARES

Among the more static elements that make up a city are its streets. Buildings are torn down and rebuilt, walls are absorbed within the city as it expands and become obsolete, squares are sometimes built over as the city becomes more populous and the value of property increases, but unless the city is completely destroyed and rebuilt the streets remain where they first developed.

Within the walls of Jerusalem very little has changed in the layout of Jerusalem since Hadrian rebuilt the city in the second century AD. The main change in this regard is in the extension of streets into areas which were not previously built up; most of this occurred only in quite recent times as part of the expansion of the city into the open peripheral areas and then outside the walls. In the twelfth century some new lanes and culs-de-sac may have formed among the new buildings of the Hospitallers' Quarter or other developments; the name *Ruga Nova* (New Street) which appears in sources may refer to one of these.[1] Where the Franks did bring about change was in the use of the streets (the development of new markets) and in the rebuilding around and sometimes over them, and of course in their names.

Jerusalem's narrow and often steep streets, make vehicular transport difficult or, on many of them, impossible. The principal thoroughfares are about 5 m wide but are virtually impassable in wheeled vehicles because of the topography. David Street, the main east–west artery, is on a very steep gradient from David's Gate to the Tyropoeon Valley, and is stepped most of the way. The main north–south artery, the ancient *Cardo*, is steep from St Stephen's Gate in the north until it reaches the markets and then branches into narrow crowded lanes.[2] Most of the traffic within the walls of the city was therefore pedestrian. One could perhaps ride a donkey, but in general people probably left their vehicles and draught animals in stables outside the gates, such as the Hospitallers' *Asnerie* in the north, and continued on foot. As for transporting goods, while carts could carry produce into the city through its gates and make their way around in the open areas near the walls, the means employed for conveying merchandise into the heart of the city was perhaps that still in use today – small, two-wheeled hand-carts.[3]

The streets of Jerusalem made quite an impression on Theoderich. They were very different from those he was familiar with in German towns, and consequently he made a point of describing them:

> Almost all its streets are paved with great stones below, and above many of them are covered with a stone vault, pierced with many windows for the transmission of light.[4]

The streets had been stone-paved since long before Theoderich's time,[5] but covering the streets with stone vaults was probably a more recent development. At the time of his visit some of the new covered market streets at the centre of the city had been built. In the Crusader period many more streets were probably vaulted than those that survive today; traces of twelfth-century vaults can be seen in various parts of the city, such as the Street of the Judas' Arch.

Once again it is the anonymous thirteenth-century *La Citez* that gives the greatest detail in its description of Jerusalem's streets. In such matters it goes well beyond the other contemporary accounts, which are largely restricted to descriptions of churches and places connected to the pilgrimage.[6] The medieval maps are of some use, despite their schematic execution. Archaeological excavations have added to our knowledge and the streets themselves, the physical evidence, are an important source for understanding the twelfth-century streets. Together, the *itineraria*, the medieval maps and the surviving buildings give us a good idea of the location and occasionally of the physical appearance, of the streets.

Roads leading to the City

Outside the walls there were a number of roads leading to the city gates. The *Vicus ad Civitatem* (road to the city) is the name given on medieval maps to the section of road from *Mons Gaudi* (Nabi Samâwil) to Jerusalem (Plate 7.3). This was the northern route from the coast, via Ramleh, Bait Nuba (*Beth Noble*), al-Qubaiba (*Parva Mahumeria*) and Nabi Samâwil. From there it ran through the village of al-Kurûm (Khirbat al-Burj) and possibly near the farmhouse in the modern Jerusalem suburb of Har Hozevim before approaching the north of the city, passing the church of St Stephen and apparently dividing into two routes, one turning west and then south to David's Gate and the other continuing south to St Stephen's Gate. Another road, the main southern route from the coast, probably approximated the line of the modern highway from Ramleh via Latrun (*Le Toron des Chevalliers*), Abu Ghosh (Emmaus, *Fontenoid*), Motza (*Colonia*) and Lifta (*Clepsta*) to David's Gate.

Secondary roads outside the city led to Nablus in the north, Bethlehem in the south and Jericho and the Jordan river in the east. All of these roads were important not only as arteries for regular traffic but as pilgrimage routes. From David's Gate a road (*Vicus ad Betleem Effrata*) led to the south and east, passing the cemetery and pool at Mamilla and continuing to Rachel's Tomb and on to the small town of Bethlehem, birthplace of Christ. On the Cambrai map it is shown as two roads, one unnamed road to the south and a second more northerly road named *Via Hebron*, converging to become *Via Betleem* (Plate 9.1).[7] From the Gate of St Stephen a road branched off to Nablus and the north. This was an important road in the Crusader period, not only because it led to Nablus and other towns and pilgrimage sites in the north (Sepphoris, Nazareth,

Mount Tabor, the Sea of Galilee), but also because it was the inland route to Acre, the principal port of the kingdom.

From the Gate of Jehoshaphat an important pilgrimage route led down into the Valley of Jehoshaphat, to the Tomb of the Virgin and to Gethsemane, and then ascended to the Church of the Ascension on the Mount of Olives. From there it continued to the villages of Bethpage and Bethany and then to the place of Christ's Baptism on the Jordan River.

Three roads led out of the city from Zion Gate. One turned to the right towards the abbey and church of St Mary of Mount Zion. A second road went to the left, following the city wall to the south-eastern corner of the city and from there to the Golden Gate (*Porta Aurea*), from where it continued down into the Valley of Jehoshaphat and to the Siloam Pool. This road probably joined the road coming from the Gate of Jehoshaphat. A third road led south down Mount Zion, passing the abbey and then turning south-west, where it continued on to join the road from David's Gate to Bethlehem.[8] This section of the latter route has been uncovered in excavations.[9]

Streets inside the City

Inside the walls, the main streets were the ancient *Cardo*, the *Decumanis* and the secondary *Cardo* running along the Tyropoeon Valley. There were also a number of other important thoroughfares as well as many minor streets or alleyways. The main east–west thoroughfare of Crusader Jerusalem, David Street (*Vicus David*), extended from David's Gate as far as the Latin Exchange, where it crossed the market streets on the ancient line of the *Cardo* and continued east to the *Porta Speciosa* as Temple Street. According to *La Citez*, the road which went from the Tower of David straight to the Golden Gate [as far as the Latin Exchange] was called David Street.[10] The twelfth-century buildings fronting this street on the north side survive from just east of the Street of the Patriarch to the Street of Herbs on the *Cardo*.[11] A large arch crosses the street just west of the *Cardo*.

The continuation of David Street to the east was known as Temple Street (*Vicus ad Templum Domini* or *Vicus Templi*).[12] According to *La Citez*:

> The street by which one goes from the exchange to the Golden Gate is the Street of the Temple; this street was called the Street of the Temple because one goes this way to the Temple as well as to the Golden Gate. Going down this street you come to Butchers' Place, on the left hand, where they sell the meat of the town . . . At the top of this street there is a gate, called the Gate Beautiful because by this gate Jesus Christ entered into the city of Jerusalem when He was on earth.[13]

Buildings from the Crusader period have survived either side of the street. At the street's western end, where it leaves the junction with the markets on the *Cardo* there is, on the north, the complex now known as *Khân al-Sultân* (*al-Wakala*), which consists of a vaulted market hall and street, stables, a courtyard and additional buildings around it. Michael Burgoyne has dated these buildings, except for the courtyard and its surrounding buildings, to the Crusader period.[14] About halfway along Temple

Street, also on the northern side, is another twelfth-century building, possibly a market hall, with at least six groin-vaulted bays supported on pillars with simple capitals.[15] Further east, on the southern side of the street adjacent to the Mamluk *Tomb of Barka Khân*, is a third Crusader structure, a row of shops (at least three) which appears (from the presence of ownership marks) to have belonged to the Templars.[16] The eastern half of Temple Street crossed the Tyropoeon on the ancient causeway leading to the gate above Wilson's Arch, which since Herodian times had linked the Temple Mount with the upper city. It ended at the *Porta Speciosa*.

Returning to David's Gate, after passing through the gate *La Citez* notes:

> Within this gate you turn to the right hand, into a street. Near the Tower of David, you can go to the Mount Sion [by a postern which is there]. In this street on the left hand, as you go towards the postern, is a church of St. James of Galicia, who was the brother of St. John the Evangelist[17]

This is the Armenian Patriarch Street (*Ruga Armenorum*, *Ruga Armeniorum*, *Rue des Hermins*). Judging from the position of the tower at its southern end, which was almost certainly the Beaucayre postern, it is probable that the modern street which runs south from the citadel is on the same line as the medieval Armenian Street.[18] Wightman suggests that *Via Mediante* (Main Street) mentioned in *Regesta*, no. 559 may refer to the Armenian Patriarch Street.[19] Another street, perhaps the extension of the *Ruga Armenorum* beyond the city walls, is called by the same name as the postern: . . . *vico qui dicatur Belcarii, juxta muros civitatis prope Portam Novam*.[20]

La Citez continues:

> On going a little farther down this David Street one comes to a street on the left hand, which is called Patriarch Street because the Patriarch dwells at the top of it. There is a door on the right hand of the Patriarch Street, by which one can enter into the House of the Hospital. After this there is a door by which one enters into the Church of the Sepulchre, but it is not the Master Door.[21]

The Patriarch Street (*Rue le Patriarche*), was also known as the Street of the Patriarch's Bathhouse (*Ruga Balmanorum, Ruga Balneorum Patriarchae*) because it led to the bathhouse of that name located in the Hospitallers' Quarter just south of the hospital.[22]

The northern part of the *Cardo* from the Syrian Exchange to St Stephen's Gate was known as St Stephen's Street or the Street of St Stephen's Gate (*Vicus Porta S. Stephanus*).[23] According to *La Citez*:

> On entering the city by the Gate of St. Stephen you come to two streets, one on the right, which goes to the Gate of Mount Sion, which is due south. And the Gate of Mount Sion is over against the Gate of St. Stephen . . . This street, which goes to the Gate of Mount Sion, is called the Street of St. Stephen, until you come to the Syrian Exchange.[24]

To the east was the street leading to the Valley of Jehoshaphat. Although in the twelfth century it had not yet achieved its subsequent acclaim as the first section of the

Via Dolorosa, anyone wishing to exit the city from the east was required to use the street known as Jehoshaphat Valley Gate Street (*Vicus ad Porta Vallis Josephat*). This route led to the important holy sites in the Valley of Jehoshaphat, to the Mount of Olives, and to the road to Bethpage, Bethany and the Jordan River. It was also the road leading to the northern entrances of the Temple Mount and to the convent of St Anne and it was the southern thoroughfare of the Syrian Quarter. It led to two important water sources, the Sheep's Pools and the Birqat Isra'îl, and to the adjacent bathhouse. Crusader remains on this street include the Church of St Anne, the Chapel of the Flagellation, a tower on the north side and fragments of walls displaying the typically Frankish tooling and masons' marks on the southern side of the street. Another street mentioned in sources, *Vicus de Repoes*, may have been one of the alleys leading south from the Street of Jehoshaphat, perhaps the one leading to the Chapel of the Repose (*Chapelle du Repoes*) in the north-west corner of the Temple Mount.[25]

Returning to the centre of the city, according to the author of *La Citez*: 'When you come to the Exchange where the David Street ends there is a street called Mount Sion Street, for it goes straight to Mount Sion'.[26] Mount Zion Gate Street (*Vicus ad Porta Montis Syon*) is the modern Habad Street or *Tarîq Bâb al-Nabî Da'ûd*. Further on he writes: 'You go along the Street of Herbs to the Street of Mount Sion, and thereby reach the Gate of Mount Sion, crossing the Street of David.'[27] As the Street of Herbs is the westernmost of the three market streets to the north, the identification of Habad Street as Mount Zion Street is fairly straightforward.

Parallel to Mount Zion Street was the Street of Judas' Arch (Vicus *Arcus Judae*).[28] According to a medieval tradition, Judas Iscariot hanged himself on an arch in the easternmost of the two streets on the southern stretch of the *Cardo* adjacent to Mount Zion Street. Prior to the Crusader period the site of this event was located elsewhere.[29] *La Citez* places it directly south of the Covered Street (the easternmost of the three parallel market streets on the *Cardo* north of David Street), that is, where the Street of the Jews is situated today:

> By the Covered Street you go through the Latin Exchange to a street called the Street of the Arch of Judas, and you cross the street of the Temple, and this street goes straight to the Gate of Mount Sion. This street is called the Street of the Arch of Judas, because they say Judas hanged himself there upon a stone arch.[30]

The arch is shown on the Cambrai map to the east of Mount Zion Street.[31]

Medieval buildings still face this street. On its west is a covered market street, and the shops on the eastern side of the market had entrances on to this street. On one of these shops is a Templar property mark (a triangle containing an inverted 'T') (Plate 13.1). Springers of vaults that covered part of this street can still be seen, although the medieval vaulting has not survived. On the eastern side of the street, about one third of the way along, stood the church of St Martin.[32] The Street of Judas' Arch is possibly the same street referred to elsewhere as the *Vicus S. Martini*.[33]

The street known as Spanish Street (*Ruga Ispaniae*) has been identified as the northern part of the street running from St Stephen's Gate south along the Tyropoeon Valley.[34] Prawer suggested identifying Spanish Street with the *Vicus Girardi de Lissebone* (*Lissebonette*) which appears in some documents.[35] Further south in the

Plate 13.1 Templar ownership mark (photograph by the author).

Tyropoeon Valley was the Street of the Furriers (*Vicus Pelliparіorum*, *Rue des Pelletiers*). It was in this street that the Count of Jaffa was stabbed during a game of dice.[36] Another street recorded in *La Citez* is the Street of the Germans (*Rue des Alemans*): 'On the right hand [of Temple Street] there is another street, by which one goes to the German Hospital, which is called the German Street.'[37]

A street or path called the Way of the Residences of the Many (*iter. habitancia uulgi*) appears on the Copenhagen map in the north-east of the city.[38] On most of the round maps this street appears simply with the title *iter* (way). It is shown running south from the northern wall (perhaps from near the Postern of Saint Mary Magdalene?). It passes alongside or very close to the western wall of the Temple Mount and the *Porta Speciosa* and reaches the southern city wall. It possibly represents the street mentioned above, running along the Tyropoeon Valley. Alternatively, it could be a different street, further to the east, of which only the northern part survives: the present *Tarîq Bâb al-Sâhira* – Street of the Gate of Sahira (Herod's Gate). On the Brussels A map we find its full name, *Iter ad Porta Speciosa* (the way to the Beautiful Gate). This suggests that a street ran adjacent to the western wall of the Temple Mount reaching the Beautiful Gate. From there it may have continued south to the southern city wall somewhat to the east of the Tanners' Gate. It is perhaps possible that a street ran below the Temple Mount wall in the twelfth century, before the area was built up by the Mamluks from the thirteenth century on. The older, possibly thirteenth-century Crusader part of the Cotton Market discussed below (pp. 153–5) ended some 42 m from the Temple Mount wall which could plausibly be the position of the western side of this street. However, the problem arises as to how anyone using this road could have reached the Beautiful Gate, which was at a considerably higher level and was otherwise reached by Temple Street and the bridge. Perhaps one could turn off at some point and take a side street which led up to Temple Street.

Three streets on the *Cardo* are mentioned in *La Citez* and in other sources: *Rue aux Herbes*, *Rue Malquisinat* (*Vicus Coquinatus*) and *Rue Couverte*.[39] These were market streets and will be discussed in the next chapter. Vincent and Abel identified *Ruga S. Anastasiae*[40] with the street now called '*Aqabat al-Takiyya*, which is the street parallel to and south of the central part of the Via Dolorosa and Marshall Street (*Ruga Marescalky*)[41] with '*Aqabat al-Saray* further south. Other streets referred to in sources but which have not been identified include the *Ruga Nova*,[42] *Vicus de Tresmailles*,[43] *Ruga Parmentariorum*,[44] *Ruga de Lauremer*,[45] and *Ruga S. Johannis Evangelistae*[46] and a *Via Publica* is mentioned but without being identified.[47]

Squares

There were probably several squares in the city of Jerusalem but little attention is paid to them by the sources. Church squares outside the Church of the Holy Sepulchre (*Platea Sepulcri*), the church of St Mary Minor (*Platea Mercenariorum*), the Tomb of the Virgin in the Valley of Jehoshaphat and probably many other churches were places where the public could gather on festivals. Squares were also used for commerce. The name 'Square of the Merchants' (*Platea Mercenariorum*) for the square outside the Church of St Mary Minor, may possibly have originated in its having been founded

by Amalfitan merchants in the eleventh century but could equally refer to its secondary use as a market square.[48] At the junction of David Street and Mount Zion Street, the *Forum Rerum Venalium* or Square for the Sale of Goods was located.[49] This was perhaps identical with the Square of the Money Changers (*Mensae Nummulariorum/ Platea Nummulariorum/Concambium*) where the Latin money changers were located (shown on the maps with the words *Cambium Monete*) (Plate 7.3).[50] Squares were also places where labourers could gather to seek employment. When in 1184 a philanthropic burgess named Germain sought to dig a well outside the city, he went to the square to look for workers.[51]

CHAPTER FOURTEEN

MARKETS

Jerusalem was not a major commercial centre like Acre and Tyre, but with a growing population and the great influx of pilgrims arriving at the city there was an increasing need for supplies of food, clothing, religious articles and keepsakes, and a variety of other items. To cater for this trade Frankish merchants and craftsmen occupied the old bazaars, and in the open areas on the outskirts of the city but within the walls were markets selling agricultural produce. *La Citez* is again the best source for descriptions of these markets and the types of goods sold in them.

The open markets

Like many walled medieval cities, Jerusalem had extensive open areas adjacent to the walls. These spaces were occupied by gardens and orchards, abattoirs, tanneries and other establishments which in a hostile environment required the protection of walls but which were, because of their nature, more appropriately located in open places segregated from domestic areas. Here were the open-air markets selling produce and livestock that, because of the dirt, odour and noise that they created, were best kept away from the houses and located as near as possible to the gates. In any case, livestock and farm produce could not be conveniently transported down the narrow stepped alleys into the heart of the city.

Two open-air markets were in the vicinity of David's Gate. *La Citez* mentions a grain market: 'On the left hand [north] of the Tower of David there is a large place where they sell corn.'[1] This area, north of the citadel, remained open until the end of the nineteenth century, as can clearly be seen in photographs and engravings.[2] It was the ideal location for markets for farm produce, just inside the main gate of the city through which almost everyone, merchants and citizens, passed.

The second market was a pig market referred to in sources as the Patriarch's Pig Market (*Porcharia Patriarchalis*).[3] The exact position of this market is not known, but we can place it more or less to the north-east of the Pool of the Patriarch and probably to the east of the grain market, near the westernmost houses of the Patriarch's Quarter.[4] Close to these two markets was a church (mentioned above), St George in the Market (*St George in Funda*), which appears on the Cambrai map (Plate 9.1).[5]

The cattle market was situated in the south of the city near the Tanners' Postern. Since the tanners (*Tannerie*) were located in the south, the butchers (*Boucherie*, *Bocheria*) in the south-east but further north on the northern side of Temple Street, and the skinners (*Eschorcherie*, *Regis Excorticatio*) and furriers (*Pelletiers*) in the same area, it is likely that the cattle market was located in the open fields in the lower Tyropoeon Valley, just to the north of the tanners.

Market streets and halls

Market streets, halls and squares located in the heart of the city were reserved for the sale of foodstuffs and manufactured items.

Along the northern side of David Street, west of the Triple Market, are fourteen adjoining halls or shops (Figure 10.1 bottom). Thirteen of these shops consist of large halls (*c.* 20 m by 7.5 m) each constructed of three groin-vaulted bays. The halls are supported by six ashlar piers measuring 1.5 m square and two elongated piers on the street front measuring 2–2.5 m by 1.5 m. The bays are divided by transverse arches and the halls are separated longitudinally by walls which may be later additions.

Schick suggested that these halls were the living quarters of the knights.[6] Without the dividing walls this was a very large open structure, not unlike the so-called 'Halls of the Knights' in the Hospitallers' Quarter in Acre which may have served as a dormitory for the Hospitaller knights in that town. However, in Jerusalem each unit has a broad, arched entrance from David Street (now mostly filled by later construction but still clearly visible). Thus, they unquestionably served as shops and magazines, and perhaps as stables, rather than as living quarters. The large size of each individual hall could provide ample room for storage and for workshops.[7] In the David Street façade of this remarkable structure were the large pointed-arched doorways, 6 m wide and of varying heights, from less than 4 m in the west increasing to about 7 m towards the east (Plate 14.1). They are constructed, as are the piers, of large limestone ashlars with diagonal tooling, many of them displaying masons' marks. Above them are stone corbels which may once have supported a wooden gallery on the first-floor level. Living quarters could have been located on this upper level.[8] Whether these were occupied by the Hospitaller knights or by private merchants renting their shops from the order remains an open question. Under the central bays of the six halls to the west are large cisterns, and there are cisterns at the back of the eighth shop from the west and behind the fourteenth shop.

A group of four halls east of the present entrance from David Street to the Muristan (the ninth hall counting from the west) had no dividing walls and may have served as an open market hall, as indeed they did until a few years ago. The fourteenth hall, the easternmost of the row, is more massively constructed than the others and may have been separated from them. This latter hall originally had another façade on the east, which was blocked when the covered market street was constructed on that side. It was briefly exposed in 1988 when plaster was removed from an inner wall of one of the shops on the west side of the western market street and was recorded by Bahat.[9] The piers of this hall on the David Street side are extended to form small alcoves (which now serve as shops) on either side of the door. In the northern bay of this hall is a staircase to an upper storey which no longer survives.

Plate 14.1 Frankish shops in David Street (photograph by the author).

Some scholars identify this eastern section of the building with the market where cheese, chickens, eggs and birds were sold,[10] as described in *La Citez*.[11] However, this text actually seems to suggests a more northerly location. Let us take a close look at this description:

> When you come to the [Latin] Exchange where David Street ends there is a street called Mount Sion Street, for it goes straight to Mount Sion . . . [This is at the junction of David Street and the *Cardo*]. . . . And on the left of the Exchange is a covered street, vaulted over, called the Street of Herbs, where they sell all the herbs, and all the fruits of the city, and spices. At the top of this street there is a place where they sell fish. [This is the westernmost of the parallel market streets.]

'At the top (*cief*)' must mean at the far end, i.e. to the north, as it certainly did earlier in the text, when it is stated that the Palace of the Patriarch was at the top of Patriarch Street ('*Al cief de celle rue*').[12] The next sentence reads: 'And behind the market where they sell the fish, is a very large place on the left hand where cheese, chickens, and eggs [and birds] are sold.' The words 'a very large place' rule out the narrow space to the left of the market between the shops and the eastern wall of St Mary Minor. The only place where a large market could have been on the left is across the *Rue des Palmiers* on the left of Khân al-Zeit, opposite the Syrian Exchange. Here indeed there was in the past a very large market building. In 1887 ruins of two market streets (walled up and long out of use), on property purchased by the Russian government were cleared

away and new buildings were subsequently erected. No trace of these markets is preserved. However, a short and somewhat confused report was published, with a very fine plan, by Conrad Schick.[13] Schick believed that the quality of masonry was too poor for a date in the Crusader period and suggested a Byzantine date. He briefly described the streets, erroneously identifying them with the *Rue Couverte* and *Malquisinat*.[14] The two streets were parallel and ran from east to west. The northern street was longer, but its shops did not extend along the entire length. It was groin-vaulted, *c.* 4.1 m wide, with groin-vaulted shops on either side, those to the north somewhat larger (approximately 2.4 m by 1.5 m and 2.4 m by 2.4 m) than the shops to the south (1.5 m by 1.8 m). The shorter street to the south was narrower at its west end, *c.* 1.8 m, broadening to *c.* 3 m in the east where it appears to have joined up with the other street. Unlike the northern street, it was not vaulted over. Below it ran a sewage conduit. One or both of these market streets could have been the market of cheese, chickens, eggs and birds mentioned in *La Citez*.

Temple Street, the continuation of David Street to the east, was also the venue of individual shops and market halls. Michael Burgoyne has suggested identifying four markets in this area. The first is at the intersection with the Covered Street and the Street of Judas' Arch. It forms part of the Khân al-Sûltan (Figure 14.1).[15] It is a short vaulted street with six small recesses or alcoves on either side which could perhaps have been used as shops. It is now used as a public lavatory.

The second is called by Burgoyne a market hall.[16] Also part of the Khân al-Sûltan, forming its southern entrance from Temple Street, this is a barrel-vaulted hall with five small chambers opening to the east and four to the west, as well as an entrance to a stable. The hall is divided by six transverse arches and is decorated below the upper storey balcony with small, typically Frankish curved corbels. Burgoyne writes: 'It appears that the whole hall is actually a Crusader construction.'[17]

The third structure identified by Burgoyne as a market is a hall of six groin-vaulted bays supported on two columns which is located about halfway down Temple Street next to the Mamluk al-Kilaniyya Mausoleum.[18] Burgoyne notes that J.E. Hanauer identified this hall with the Church of St Gilles which, according to *La Citez*, was located on the left hand, on the bridge, but goes on to suggest that the form of this building 'is not that of a church but rather that of some commercial structure'.[19] According to *La Citez*, the meat of the city was sold in the butchers' market (*Bocheria*) which was located on the northern side of Temple Street.[20] This hall could possibly be part of that market. Burgoyne describes these Crusader remains: 'The cross-vaulted bays, divided by transverse arches, spring from limestone columns with simple capitals.'[21] The butchers' market was well placed in the city, on the one hand in a central location and on the other reasonably near to its supply source, the cattle market, in the south-eastern part of the town.

The fourth market on Temple Street was a row of shops on the southern side of the street just south of the Mamluk Tomb of Barka Khân.[22] Burgoyne described the three pointed arches, originally open, in the façade facing Temple Street and the partition walls within the building dividing them into three shops, and notes that there may originally have been more. He also noted the six shields, each consisting of a circle enclosing a 'T', cut in the façade at shoulder height. These were no doubt property ownership marks of the Templars.[23]

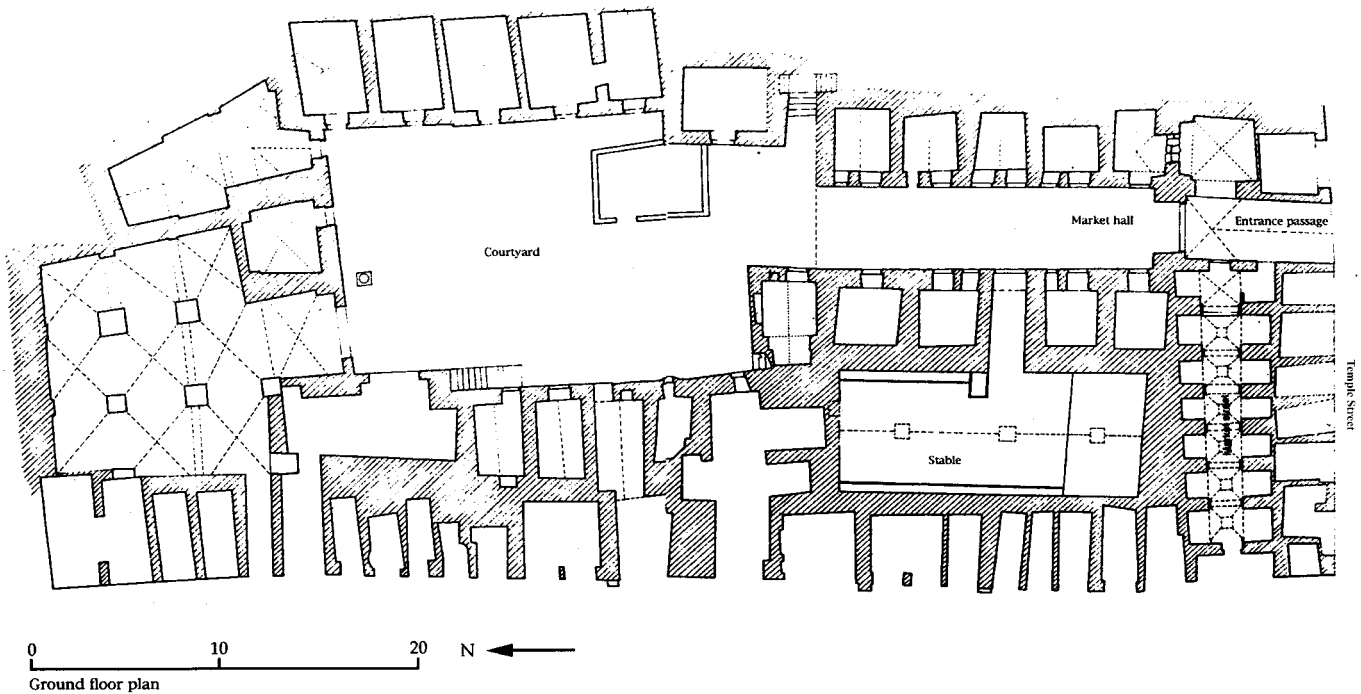


Figure 14.1 Plan of the Khân al-Sûltan (after Burgoyne 1987).

In the lower part of the northern half of the *Cardo*, the section north of David Street which was located between the Latin and the Syrian exchanges, are three parallel, vaulted market streets which have survived very nearly intact from the twelfth century. The existing structure was built in the twelfth century, replacing an earlier market which, according to Mujîr al-Dîn, was in existence from the Byzantine period or even earlier (Plate 14.2). He writes that in the seventh century, when the city was occupied by the Caliph 'Umar, the market was divided between the Christians and Muslims.[24] This establishment was built by Queen Melisende in 1152, employing the labour of Muslims from the village of Bethsurik.[25] The three streets are 6 m high with passages 3 m wide. The shops are no more than 4 m square.

The identification of these markets and their date of construction are confirmed by the presence of inscriptions consisting of letters of medieval form reading 'SCA ANNA' which were recorded by Clermont-Ganneau in 1899 (Plate 14.3).[26] These inscriptions link the shops in the market to the Abbey of St Anne, an establishment supported by Queen Melisende whose sister, Yvette (Joette) was a nun there.[27] The abbey is known to have possessed considerable rents and tenures.[28] Clermont-Ganneau suggests that the convent had a share in the rents of the shops so inscribed. This apparently continued into the Ayyubid period, when the convent of St Anne became the Madrasa al-Sâlahiyya and the Templars' headquarters was restored as the al-Aqsa Mosque. Mujîr al-Dîn records that the western market became *wakf* (endowment) of the Madrasa al-Sâlahiyya and the central and eastern markets became *wakf* of al-Aqsa.[29] The incised 'T's in the central market suggest that the Templars had shares in some of its shops, but Mujîr al-Dîn seems to have got the order of the streets wrong in his description, the central market having become property of the Madrasa al-Sâlahiyya, the other two of the al-Aqsa Mosque.[30]

Additional support for a Crusader date is provided by the use of Frankish diagonally tooled stones in the building, the presence of masons' marks, recorded by Clermont-Ganneau, and some sculptured stones which can still be seen today in the shaft openings above the central street. The inscriptions are found only in the central street. This fact, together with the difference in design of the outer two streets, makes plausible the suggestion of Edward Robinson that only the central street dates from 1152 and that the others were added later 'in order to enlarge the extent and capacity of this market-place'.[31] The eastern street also appears to have undergone a fair amount of rebuilding at a later time. This would explain the secondary use of the Crusader period corbels at the northern end of the market.[32]

The medieval names of the three streets of this market are recorded in *La Citez*: the Street of Herbs (*Rue des Herbes*), the Street of Bad Cooking (*Malquisinat*) and the Covered Street (*Rue Couverte*). There has been some debate about the arrangement of the three streets in relation to one another, but *La Citez* is actually very clear on the matter. The westernmost of the markets was the Herb Market. According to *La Citez*: 'You go along the Street of Herbs to the street of Mount Sion and thereby reach the Gate of Mount Sion, crossing the Street of David.'[33] Mount Zion street was the western street south of David Street. The central street was known as *Malquisinat* or *Vicus Coquinatorum* (*Kocatrice*).[34] The eastern street was known simply as the Covered Street. According to *La Citez*:

Plate 14.2 Market on the *Cardo* north of David Street (photograph by the author).

Plate 14.3 Inscription on a shop in the Central Market Street (*Malquisinat*) (photograph by the author).

> By the Covered Street you go through the Latin Exchange to a street called the Street of the Arch of Judas, and you cross the street of the Temple, and this street goes straight to the gate of Mount Sion.[35]

The Street of Judas' Arch was the easternmost of the streets on the line of the *Cardo* to the south.

The Street of Herbs (*Rue des Herbes*) was, according to *La Citez*, the only venue in the city where herbs, fruit and spices were sold.[36] The Covered Street (*Rue Couverte*) is the shortest of the three market streets. Here, according to *La Citez*, Latin drapers sold cloth.[37] *Malquisinat* is perhaps the most interesting of the three markets. With the rapid growth of pilgrimage there was a manifest need in twelfth-century Jerusalem for a place where cooked food could be purchased. By the time of the market's construction in 1152 the city was inundated with pilgrims, whose basic needs included board and meals. Lodgings were provided in the hospices of the religious and military orders. Some of the pilgrims may have also been fed by the Hospitallers, but a market selling cooked food was a very practical solution for the majority of them. Writing in the late fifteenth century, the German Dominican pilgrim Felix Fabri enlightens us with another explanation for the existence of this Crusader institution, perhaps the main reason for its having survived into the Mamluk period. Fabri refers to the difficulty of obtaining firewood for use in private kitchens:

> In those parts the kitchens must needs be common walls, since owing to the dryness of the land, wood is dear, and there cannot be a kitchen in each house, as with us, because of the want of wood.[38]

By this time the street had become known as the Street of the Cooks where, according to Obadiah of Bertinoro, 'cooked food and bread are sold'.[39] *La Citez* notes that in this street the pilgrims washed their heads.[40] This would be necessary after eating, certainly before going to prayer at the Holy Sepulchre. There was perhaps a public fountain here, possibly one of those built by Germain, the mid-twelfth century benefactor who built three fountains and carried out other benevolent works in order to improve the water supply to the inhabitants of the city.[41]

There are square shaft openings above this street to let in light and air and to allow the smoke from cooking to escape. The other streets have openings on the sides of the vaults (Plate 14.4). Until the early twentieth century stone arches covered each of the openings above the central market street, allowing only indirect light to enter and preventing rain from coming in. They can be seen in photographs of the market roof taken in 1918–21.[42]

The *mastabas* or stone benches that lined these streets until the nineteenth century, and can be seen in old photographs and engravings, may have existed in the Crusader period. Most of these benches were removed in *c.* 1863–4 when the streets were repaved.[43] Hanauer described the benches and the arrangement of the shop doors in the Covered Street (the easternmost of the three markets), where they survived into the early twentieth century:

Plate 14.4 Openings on roof of a market street (photograph by the author).

> Along the sides of the street and in front of the shops, are stone benches, about two feet high and a yard wide. The two leaves of the shop doors are not hinged onto the side posts, as in ordinary doorways, but, respectively, to the door sills and the thresholds, and meet in the middle, half way up the doorway. When the shop is open the lower leaf lies flat upon the stone bench, and if covered with a carpet, forms a convenient dais or platform on which the merchant and his customers sit whilst conversing, or else as a counter upon which the shopkeeper lays his wares. The upper door-leaf is lifted up, and kept in position either by an iron bar, which fastens it to the wall behind, or is propped up in such a manner that it hangs stretched either horizontally or else sloping upwards over the bench below, so as to form a canopy or pent-house. From the lower sides of this various goods are hung as advertisements to passers by, on the same principle that European shop-windows are 'dressed'.[44]

As this arrangement is similar to medieval shops in the West, it is quite possible that this was how they appeared when they were built in the twelfth century.

At the end of the nineteenth century a stone which may have originated in *Malquisinat* was found in a mason's shop in Jerusalem. According to Clermont-Ganneau it was uncovered during restoration work in the *Mahkamah* (a building located next to the Temple Mount). It had Frankish tooling and was incised with an inscription possibly reading '*. . . UUS II d(?) . . . II I . . .*'. Clermont-Ganneau suggested reading '*[COQ]UUS*' (cook) for the first word, a suggestion which is supported by the group of cooking implements incised on the stone above the inscription (Figure 14.2).[45]

Directly south of *Malquisinat* is another covered market street. Late in the twelfth century, or possibly during the brief period of Frankish rule in the thirteenth century, a large, new, covered market street was built on the southern part of the *Cardo*. This was a two-storied structure, 6.5 m wide, with thirteen large barrel-vaulted shops on its western side (measuring on average 3.5 m by 11 m) and eleven smaller groin-vaulted shops (4 m by 4 m) on the east (Plate 14.5). It is a well constructed building, more

Figure 14.2 Stone incised with cooking implements and an inscription (after Clermont-Ganneau 1899).

Plate 14.5 Market on the *Cardo* south of David Street (photograph by the author).

spacious than the market streets to its north. It may originally have extended further to the south than it does at present, but its northern limits are defined by the pilaster with a typical Frankish capital which is all that can be seen of the decorated façade of the building (most of it is now hidden by later structures built against it).

Could this market be represented on the medieval maps? On almost all of the round maps of Jerusalem the words '*Forum Rerum Venalium*' (market for the sale of goods) are found south of David Street and on the eastern side of Mount Zion Street (Plate 7.3). They usually seem to appear in an open space with buildings surrounding it but on the Florence map this establishment is represented as a large, elongated building. This is of course a purely stylistic rendition bearing little relationship to an actual structure, and the map is apparently quite late, being attached to a fourteenth- or fifteenth-century manuscript, but it is worth noting that the illustration does look like a large market hall.

Regarding the date of this building, in one of the shops a stone with the inscription '*SCA ANNA*' was found in secondary use, a fact which would seem to point to a later date than the northern market building (1152).[46] Indeed, we can perhaps assume a considerably later date, as it must have come from a destroyed building. This points to the possibility that the market to the south was built when the Franks returned to Jerusalem in the thirteenth century. This would also perhaps explain why on the twelfth-century maps the *Forum Rerum Venalium* is shown as an open space, and why it is not mentioned in *La Citez*. Regarding its use, there is no information beyond the

vague title inscribed on the maps, which gives us no idea of what type of goods were sold here.

At the northern entrance to this market street, on the eastern side, there is a house with three shops, and to its south, in the area between this house and the market building, a fourth shop was added at some later stage (Plate 14.6). These shops are simple, barrel-vaulted structures each with a door on the Street of Judas' Arch and large arched doors with narrow windows above them on the street to their west.[47] As to the ownership of this structure, there is a hint, on the Street of Judas' Arch, in the form of a Templar ownership mark carved on the face of the second Crusader shop.

Fish brought from the coast or from pools in the vicinity of the city were sold in the Fish Market which is mentioned twice in *La Citez*. It is first referred to as being located at the top of the Street of Herbs (*Al cief de la celle rue, a .I. liu là où on vent le poisson*).[48] Subsequently it is referred to as being located in front of the Syrian Exchange (*Devant cel Cange vent on le poisson*).[49]

A large covered market street known as the Cotton Market is located on the eastern side of the street in the Tyropoeon Valley, north of and parallel to Temple Street (Plate 14.7). The name seems to have originated in the fifteenth century and we can only speculate on what goods were sold here in the Crusader period.[50] It is an imposing barrel-vaulted building of thirty bays separated by transverse arches, with small shops either side and living quarters above, joining the street in the Tyropoeon Valley to the Temple Mount. It has generally been considered to be of Ayyubid or Mamluk date. However, Burgoyne has raised the possibility that part of the Cotton Market was

Plate 14.6 House with shops on the *Cardo* (photograph by the author).

Plate 14.7 Cotton Market (photograph by the author).

originally constructed in the Crusader period. He noted certain architectural differences between the western and eastern halves of the street; the lower western part appears to belong to an earlier building which lay in ruins when the new, eastern part was added. He adds: 'There is nothing in the western part of the market street to contradict a Crusader origin'.[51] In support of a late date in the second period of Crusader rule (1229 or later) for the older part of the market, it should be noted that the description in *La Citez* of the street from St Stephen's Gate to Tanner's Gate and the streets leading into it makes no mention of this building, a rather surprising omission unless it simply did not exist in the late twelfth or early thirteenth century when this work was written.

The *Ruga Palmariorum*, the palm street, was the place where pilgrims bought palm branches which they carried during processions and took back with them when they returned home. In the Crusader period, and perhaps earlier, the palm branch became a symbol of pilgrimage to the Holy Land. It was in this custom that the name 'Palmer', meaning pilgrim, originated. According to *La Citez*, this market was located where the Syrian gold-workers had their shops.[52] It is described as a covered vaulted street where 'the Syrians sell their stuffs (cloth) and make wax candles'.[53]

CHAPTER FIFTEEN

OTHER PUBLIC WORKS

In addition to the obvious need for fortifications, administrative and religious buildings, and alongside the commercial establishments set up by the Franks, a number of other buildings were intended to serve the needs of the local population and the pilgrims. Among these were the hospices and hospitals, bathhouses and stables.

Hospitals and hospices

In the medieval world the term hospital did not always denote a place where the sick received medical treatment. Under this designation at least four distinct types of institutions are included: leper hospitals (*leprosaria*), institutions that cared for the ill or injured, almshouses for the destitute and hospices for pilgrims and wayfarers. In Crusader Jerusalem there were a number of hospitals or infirmaries. These included the hospital of the Order of St John, a second hospital of the Order of St John specifically for female patients, a hospital for male lepers and a separate one for female lepers, a hospital for German pilgrims and a hospital belonging to the abbey of St Mary Latin that was built within St Stephen's Gate. A hospital which was founded in 1135 was attached to the Hungarian church in the north-west of the city.[1] The Templars had an infirmary for their sick brothers and the abbey of St Mary in Jehoshaphat had a *hospitalis* (almshouse) for the sick and poor and for pilgrims.[2]

The most important of Jerusalem's hospitals was that of the Knights of St John (Figure 15.1). As noted above (pp. 26, 86) the origins of this and a possible second hospital for female patients were in foundations of the eleventh century and apparently even earlier. However, in the Crusader period these comparatively humble beginnings engendered a powerful organization and a great institution: the military order of the Hospitallers of St John and the renowned hospital of Jerusalem.

It has been suggested that in its early stages the hospital functioned primarily as a hospice and that its role as a hospital in the modern sense came later.[3] However, by the 1130s it was apparently functioning as a fully fledged *Domus Infirmorum*, that is, as a place for the care of the infirm. Indeed, as early as 1047 Nasir-i Khosraw noted that physicians attended patients and provided medication in the hospital in Jerusalem. Unless he was referring to a different institution, a Muslim hospital, it would seem

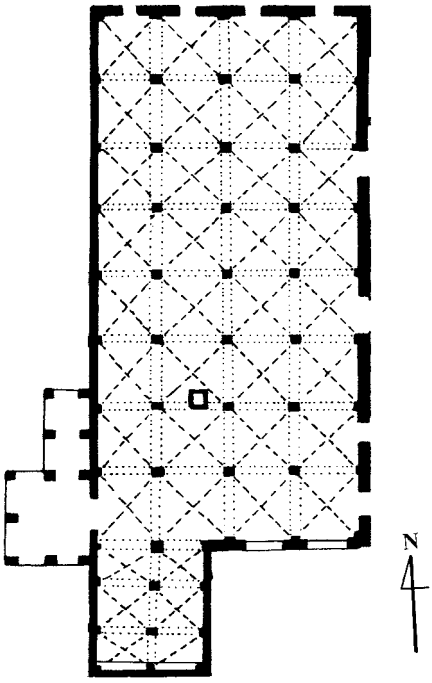


Figure 15.1 Plan of the Hospital of St John (after Schick 1902).

likely that the Crusader hospital was not new to the task of caring for and treating the ill but rather continued its already existing role.[4]

Various medieval sources, both twelfth-century and later, shed light on this institution. Pilgrims such as John of Würzburg and Theoderich describe the building and its functions.[5] The statutes of the Hospitallers add some important details, particularly the Old French version of the statutes of Roger des Moulins, who was elected as Master in 1177.[6] Another very valuable source is a description written by a pilgrim who was himself a patient at the hospital.[7] These sources have considerably expanded our knowledge of the workings of the hospital.

This remarkable institution, referred to in the Munich document as a *Palacium Infirmorum*, was open to all the sick and wounded regardless of rank, race or religion. Apparently even Muslims and Jews were treated here.[8] The hospital could accommodate between 900 and 1000 patients in regular times, twice as many during an emergency.[9] Four salaried doctors visited the sick twice a day, took tests (urine and pulse), made diagnoses, prepared and administered medication and other treatment (lithotherapy, blood-letting, etc.). The patients were given a bed 'as long and broad as is most convenient for repose'.[10] Each bed had its own coverlet and sheets. In addition, each patient was given a sheepskin cloak, a wool cap and boots to wear to the latrine. Women who had given birth were provided with cradles in order to prevent the babies being smothered if they shared their mothers' beds.[11] The sick were also provided with meals, including fresh meat three days a week (mutton, pork or chicken).

The hospital received supplies from hospitals and abbeys throughout the Latin East and in Europe. For example, dyed cotton sheets were supplied each year by hospitals

in France. Felt came from Constantinople, 2000 ells of cotton from Antioch, fustian (a type of thick twilled short-napped cotton cloth) from Italy and sugar from Mount Pelerin in the County of Tripoli. Sugar was an important ingredient in the making of syrups and other medicines.[12] The hospital also handed out alms to the poor of the city and provided clothing, bread, cooked food and wine. Thirty poor people were fed at the hospital every day.

After occupying the city in 1187, Saladin gave permission for a certain number of members of the Order of the Hospital of St John to remain in the hospital for a period of one year in order to take care of the sick that remained there.[13] He then set up his own hospital in the quarter, calling it the Muristan (Persian for hospital). It was apparently now a much smaller establishment and was located in one of the Hospitaller churches.[14] In the fourteenth century Ludolph of Suchem still described the Crusader hospital as the 'common hospital for pilgrims', but he was most probably referring to a hospice.[15] It was possibly already in a partial state of ruin, and by the late fifteenth century Felix Fabri described it as 'a large vaulted building, squalid and ruinous' where 'pilgrims arranged themselves according to their companies'.[16]

Returning to the twelfth century, there are two views of the exact location of the hospital within the Hospitallers' Quarter. The widely held opinion is that it was located in the north-west of the quarter, to the south of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre. However, it is occasionally suggested that it was in the south-east, along David Street.[17] Kedar, counting the number of aisles in the ruins in the north-west as compared to those in the building in the south-east reached the conclusion that the north-western building had the same number of aisles as the number of wards (*vici*) mentioned in the Munich text (eleven), compared to thirteen in the south-eastern complex.[18] However, the most conclusive evidence is *La Citez* which is very clear on this point. According to *La Citez*: 'There is a door on the right hand of the Patriarch Street, by which one can enter into the House of the Hospital.'[19] And later: 'To the right of the Hospital [when coming from St Mary Latin] is the Master Gate of the Sepulchre.'[20] The location is also supported by the plan of Conrad Schick where the large vaulted structure is shown directly to the south of the *parvis* of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre. We can perhaps see evidence for the door on the Street of the Patriarch referred to in *La Citez*: piers extending beyond the western wall at its southern end.[21] These statements and archaeological evidence clearly establish the position of the hospital in the quarter.

The date of construction of the hospital has been suggested by Jaroslav Folda as being between 1140, before which the order would have not had the finances to construct such a monumental building, and 1155, when according to William of Tyre the great building was already in existence.[22]

There are several well-known contemporary accounts of the hospital that describe its appearance. Descriptions written before the final obliteration of the buildings in the quarter to make way for the new market that was built in 1905, add something to our knowledge of the appearance of the hospital, and there are photographs of the ruins taken prior to their dismantling. Theoderich described it thus in *c.* 1169:

> As for this, no one can credibly tell another how beautiful its buildings are, how abundantly it is supplied with rooms and beds and other material for the use of

> poor and sick people, how rich it is in the means of refreshing the poor, and how devotedly it labours to maintain the needy, unless he has had the opportunity of seeing it with his own eyes.[23]

According to William of Tyre, the hospital was higher than the Church of the Holy Sepulchre.[24] The massive piers recorded by Schick support the impression given by William of Tyre that this was a huge structure, probably not unlike the vast Hospitallers' headquarters excavated in Acre which, as we know from a seventeenth-century illustration, was three or four storeys high.[25] The eleven wards of the Munich text, which were interpreted by Kedar as the eleven east–west halls seen on Schick's plan, consisted of eight large halls to the north, each consisting of four groin-vaulted bays supported on massive piers, and three to the south, each comprising two bays (Figure 15.1). Perhaps the latter are what Felix Fabri described in 1480 as the 'chamber apart from the rest, in a place which was shut in and respectable', which was occupied by the noble pilgrims.[26] The area of the northern halls (excluding the southern annexe) was 28.3 m by 57.5 m, and the vaults were six metres high. According to Benvenisti, the main entrance to the hospital was in the south-east.[27] However, *La Citez* mentions two entrances; the one already referred to located to the west on Patriarch's Street, and another one to the north, opposite the entrance to the Holy Sepulchre, the latter being referred to as the Master Gate (*maistre porte de l'Hospital*).[28] It seems likely that there was also an entrance directly into St Mary Major.

A second hospital in the quarter was occupied by women patients. It was perhaps an entirely new foundation, but more likely it had its origins in an earlier hospital for women located in the convent of Mary Magdalene. The anonymous Amalfitan chronicler records two *hospitalia*, for the sick of both sexes, i.e. there was a separate building specifically for the use of women.[29] It is not clear what happened to this establishment after the Crusaders occupied the city in 1099 but, although it is not mentioned in the *itineraria*, it seems to have survived. The Munich text records a palace for sick women.[30] Where was this second hospital located? If it were part of the main hospital it would not have been referred to in this text as a 'palace'. Thus, the Munich text seems to establish the women's hospital as a second independent building that survived into the twelfth century. The use of the word '*palacium*' suggests that it was a fairly large structure. Probably the most likely position was next to St Mary Minor, where the women's hospital had been in the eleventh century. Here indeed, to the south of the cloister, there was a large groin-vaulted structure, measuring approximately 48 m (or 40) by 40 m; its remains like those of the main hospital, stood until the early twentieth century. On Schick's plan it can be seen occupying the space between the market hall and 'Khan' at the eastern end of David Street and the cloister and chapel south of St Mary Minor (his Figure 13, above Figure 10.1). Part of it stood over a huge double cistern which had two elongated openings in the vault (no. 29 on Schick's plan), apparently intended for an *antiliya* used to raise the water from the cistern.[31] There was also a smaller cistern to the north and a cesspool, apparently constructed under latrines similar to those recently discovered in the Hospitaller complex in Acre.[32] Some of the subterranean structures still exist as do some piers of the ground floor vaults in the grounds of the Martin Luther School. During his examinations Schick found part of an oven (8) and several wine presses (in the vault adjacent to the cloister).[33]

This was clearly an important building. It could conceivably be the dormitory of the knights or the palace of the Grand Master, but the hospital for women is certainly a possible option. Something of the extent of the nineteenth-century remains of the building can be seen in photographs taken from the south-east prior to their removal, particularly the photograph by Horatio Herbert Kitchener dated 1874–5.[34]

Another important hospital in Crusader Jerusalem was the German hospital (Figure 10.2). St Mary of the Germans was probably constructed by the Hospitallers in the south-eastern quarter of the city shortly after the papal bull of Pope Celestin in 1143. We have already mentioned the reference to it by John of Würzburg.[35] A later source, Jacques de Vitry, wrote of its beginnings:

> the Divine clemency inspired an honourable and religious Teuton, who dwelt in the city with his wife, to build a hospice at his own cost, wherein he might entertain poor and sick Teutons. But as many poor pilgrims used to frequent his house, that they might talk in the language which they knew, he, with the Patriarch's consent and goodwill, built an oratory near the aforesaid hospital, and dedicated it to the Mother of God, the Blessed Mary.[36]

After the Crusader period the buildings deteriorated and were used as private dwellings. Nonetheless, the hospital was still known in the nineteenth century. In the *Survey of Western Palestine* it is briefly described:

> It is entered from a small square in the Hârat el Meidân, east of the last-mentioned site [St Thomas of the Germans]. The remains of the ribs of vaulting springing from the walls indicate that a large medieval building stood here. There are vaults below with pointed arches and rubble work. One of these is T-shaped, with a groined roof and flat-pointed arch. This was believed to be full of treasure, which turned to charcoal when touched. The corbels supporting the ribs above have boldly cut leaves, such as are common in Crusading capitals. The lintel stone of the door of the house has an effaced Latin inscription on it: the date 8 NOV is legible. These substructions belong probably to the old Hospice of St. Mary of the Germans, which stood in the twelfth century in this part of the town.[37]

In excavations of the compound in 1968 the remains of three buildings were found: the small triapsidal basilica of St Mary of the Germans, a large courtyard building to its north of which not a great deal remains, and a two-storey, groin-vaulted building to the south of the church. All three buildings are connected by doors. Either the building to the north or that to the south of the church could have served as the hospital.[38] The northern structure was rectangular, measuring approximately 21 m by 36 m. It was shown in the plan published by Ovadiah as having nineteen groin-vaulted rooms around an open courtyard which was reached via a door and a groin-vaulted bay in the south-west. The lower level of the better-preserved southern building was a hall (*c.* 14 m by 25 m) divided into two rows of four groin-vaulted bays each, supported on three central masonry piers and eight engaged piers. The upper storey probably had a similar arrangement but was more decoratively treated, with elbow consoles around the walls supporting the vaults.

The *leprosarium* of St Lazarus was, as noted above, located somewhere outside the northern wall of the city, west of St Stephen's Gate, perhaps near the north-western corner of the city.[39] No remains of the hospital or of its associated buildings are known to have survived, although some walls and stones found in excavations in that area may belong to it. These include finds of a number of diagonally-tooled (Frankish) ashlars uncovered in excavations carried out in the area to the north-west of the city, which certainly came from a major public structure.[40]

In one medieval source mention is made of a separate hospital for female lepers. In *Estoire d'Eracles*, the area of Saladin's investment of Jerusalem in 1187 is described as being between David's Gate and St Stephen's Gate, from the hospital for women to the hospital for men: '*De lez la maladrerie des femes et par devant la maladrerie des homes*'.[41] Clermont-Ganneau concluded from this that the women's hospital was located near David's Gate, the men's hospital at St Stephen's Gate.[42]

Another possible hospital located beside the Nablus road was confirmed among other possessions by Pope Hadrian IV in 1158 to the abbey of St Mary Latin.[43] Theoderich was perhaps describing the same institution when he wrote that in the same gate there was a hospital, which the Greeks call the *xenodocheion*.[44] The chapel found adjacent to St Stephen's Gate during excavations was possibly part of this foundation.[45]

In medieval Jerusalem, a hospice belonging to the monastery of St Sabas was located near the western gate. Abbot Daniel wrote that when he visited Jerusalem he lodged at St Sabas, where he found a guide, 'a very pious man of advanced age'.[46] John of Würzburg recorded the monastery as located in the street which leads down hill from the David's Gate towards the *Templum Domini*, on the right-hand side, near the Tower of David.[47] He called it a 'convent of Armenian monks'. Joannes Phocas of Crete mentioned the hospice of St Sabas when describing the city as he visited it in 1185.[48] He notes that it was located near the palace, on the right-hand side of a wide street (David Street). This is more or less where it appears on the Cambrai map (Plate 9.1).[49]

Bathhouses

In the tenth century we hear of three bathhouses in Jerusalem. Al-Muqaddasi writes:

> Within the city are three great tanks, namely, the Birkat Bani Isra'il, the Birkat Sulaimân, and the Birkat 'Iyâd. In the vicinity of each of these are Baths, and to them lead the water channels from the streets.[50]

The bathhouse as an institution in Western society was not at the peak of its popularity in the Middle Ages. However, the Franks who settled in the East were quick to adopt bathing as a sanctioned and widespread practice. It is not difficult to understand how a European populace would look to this institution for relief in the long, hot summers of the East. The difference in attitudes towards bathing between Europeans and the Frankish settlers in the East is illustrated in the much-quoted derisive passage of Jacques de Vitry:

> Their [the Franks'] children, who are called Pullani, were brought up in luxury, soft and effeminate, more used to baths than battles, addicted to unclean and riotous living, clad like women in soft robes, and ornamented even as the polished corners of the Temple . . .[51]

As noted above (p. 85), there was a bathhouse in the Patriarch's Quarter. It was situated on the western side of the quarter, south of the hospital. According to Williams, the Street of the Patriarch's Bath was 'so-called from the Bath, that still exists [1849], and is supplied with water from the Pool of the Patriarch's Bath (*Birqat Hamâm el-Batrak*), which is fed by an aqueduct from the Pool of Mamilla'.[52] Schick noted that the bath did not have a cistern but received water from the Patriarch's Pool. He briefly describes the bathhouse, which survived till the end of the nineteenth century: 'The water is drawn up by buckets from Hezekiah's Pool, and conveyed in a channel crossing Christian Street on an arch to the bath.'[53] Pierotti recorded in 1864 that the bath was supplied for a few months of the year with water from Hezekiah's Pool.[54] The water which originated in the Mamilla Pool was dirty and not fit for drinking but apparently it was considered suitable for bathing.

We have also mentioned that the *waqf* endowed by Saladin to the *Madrasa al-Sâlahiyya* included a bathhouse known as the *Hamâm Sahayûn*, the Mount Zion Bathhouse.[55] While it cannot be ruled out, it seems unlikely that a bathhouse was located outside the city walls in the twelfth century. It could have been located inside the city near the Zion Gate. Excavations in the present Jewish Quarter in the area adjacent to the medieval Mount Zion Gate uncovered a small bathhouse adjoining a monumental Frankish building. According to the excavators, a hypocaust (the fire-chamber beneath the hot room) was found in the eastern part of the building. They found fire-damaged stone pillars and noted that in order to strengthen the ceiling of the chamber, large fragments of round basalt millstones had been inserted as supports. There were a few pottery flues within the walls, which were used to ventilate the hypocaust but not, apparently, to heat the chamber.[56]

Another bathhouse was located beside the *Porta Jehoshaphat*. It is recorded after the Crusader period, and there is no reason to suppose that it did not function under the Franks. It was built 'half along Persian lines and half along local tradition'.[57] In the *wakf* of the *Sâlahiyya* there is mention of a public bath at the *Bâb al-Asbât* (Gate of Tribes).[58] This gate is identified with the present Lions' Gate (Crusader *Porta Jehoshaphat*) or with the north-eastern gate of the Temple Mount.[59] Unless this was a new foundation, which seems unlikely so soon after the Muslim recovery of the city, this is yet another bathhouse that was in use in the Crusader period. A *hamâm* (*Hamâm Maryam*) is still located by the Lions' Gate. In the nineteenth century it was described as receiving water for twenty or thirty days a year from the nearby *Birqat Sitti Maryam*, (a small pool just outside the gate).[60] According to Barkley, the water was carried to the bathhouse via a trench from the pool.[61] This may not have been the case in the Crusader period. Titus Tobler believed that the pool was not very old and he found no references to it before 1821.[62] Possibly in the Crusader period this was not a pool but merely the southern end of the eastern moat and the water for the bathhouse may have been supplied from the nearby Sheep's Pool or from Birqat Isra'îl.

Theoderich records baths among the list of buildings and installations attached to the headquarters of the Templars.[63] This is the only reference to these baths. There was a good water source for these baths; to the north of the Templar compound, south of the *Templum Domini*, were cisterns where the water carried by the lower aqueduct from the area of Artas arrived after crossing the bridge over the Tyropoeon.

Stables

In medieval cities stables were important establishments, the medieval equivalent of today's bus and train terminals. Horses, mules, donkeys and camels were the principal modes of transport in the East. In Jerusalem stables probably existed in many private dwellings and there were large stables both inside and outside the city walls.

Johns found stables in two places in the Citadel: in the eastern tower and in the south-western bastion. Of those in the eastern tower, which are easily identifiable as belonging to the Crusader period (as they were constructed with the typically Frankish diagonal tooling), he writes:

> In the south room, moreover, against the original north and west walls there are mangers *in situ*, very like those which the Crusaders, always careful of their horses, provided in another of their castles ['Atlit].[64]

On the stables in the bastion, he writes:

> The vault [on the western side of the bastion] was half basement and was used as stables, the stone mangers of which were found against the inner wall between the screen walls towards the corner. Their troughs were partitioned, unlike those in the east range of the courtyard but like others of known Crusader origin ['Atlit]. These stables could have been reached from the outside through the postern and the south undercroft.[65]

The Templars' stables, known as Solomon's Stables (*Stabula Salomonis*), were located in the underground vaults in the south-east of the Temple Mount, east of the *Templum Salomonis*. These were the Herodian vaults which were originally built to increase the size of the Jerusalem *temenos*. They were restored in the medieval period, probably before the arrival of the Franks, and became the main stables of the Templars. According to John of Würzburg:

> On the right hand towards the south is the palace which Solomon is said to have built, wherein is a wonderful stable of such size that it is able to contain more than two thousand horses or fifteen hundred camels.[66]

Theoderich gives a more detailed account:

> They have below them stables for horses built by King Solomon himself in the days of old, adjoining the palace, a wondrous and intricate building resting on

> piers and containing an endless complication of arches and vaults, which stable, we declare, according to our reckoning, could take in ten thousand horses with their grooms. No man could send an arrow from one end of their building to the other, either lengthways or crossways, at one shot with a Balearic bow.[67]

The Hospitallers had stables for asses, the *Asneria*, noted above, located outside the city to the north of St Stephen's Gate.[68] A rectangular plot now located in the 'Garden Tomb' was examined by the Survey of Western Palestine in 1875. It contained masonry and rock-cut walls with a row of mangers in the south.[69] According to *La Citez*, these were intended for the asses and sumpter horses belonging to the Hospital.[70] *La Citez* notes that the *Asnerie* survived the Ayyubid conquest, during which other buildings outside the walls were dismantled. Under Muslim rule it became a hospice for pilgrims waiting for permission to enter the city.[71]

Additional stables for the horses of the knights were certainly located within the Hospitallers' Quarter. Schick suggests that the stables of the Hospitallers were located in the south-east of the quarter.[72] It is also possible that a large underground vault known as the Patriarch's Stable, recorded among the properties endowed as *wakf* by Saladin, was used by the Hospitallers.[73] If so, a mansion which was located to its north may have been the knights' palace.

Archery grounds

Al-Idrîsî mentions archery grounds outside the Gate of the Tribes (Jehoshaphat) stretching down to the Church of the Tomb of the Virgin.[74] Though there is no other reference to these in the contemporary sources, and al-Idrîsî's is not a first-hand account, it seems reasonable to assume that there would be such an area close to the Templar headquarters. The only difficulty here is the steep topography.

URBAN INDUSTRY, CRAFTS, TRADES AND INSTITUTIONS OF COMMERCE AND FINANCE

Industry and commerce

The open spaces on the fringes of medieval cities, both within and without the walls, were given over to activities which for a variety of reasons could not be conducted in the built-up parts of the city. Industries that were a source of pollution such as tanneries had to be located distant from houses but near water sources and places where sewage could be easily disposed of. Some enterprises required large open areas. Markets selling grain and livestock could not be located in the narrow streets and built-up areas.

On cloth manufacture in Jerusalem the medieval sources are not very informative, but the dyeing of cloth is referred to in Jewish sources. This appears to have been a monopoly of the Jews, a small number of whom, at least in the later part of the twelfth century, were allowed to settle in the city near the *Turris David*. Benjamin of Tudela noted that Jerusalem 'contains a dyeing-house for which the Jews pay a small rent annually to the king, on condition that besides the Jews no other dyers be allowed in Jerusalem'.[1] Another Jewish traveller, Petachia of Ratisbon, writing at about the same time (1170–87), noted: 'The only Jew there is Rabbi Abraham, the dyer, and he pays a heavy tax to the king to be permitted to remain there.'[2]

The tanning industry was located in the south-east of the city, either just inside the Tanners' Gate at the southern end of the street coming from St Stephen's Gate or outside the wall. This was a well-drained area in close proximity to the cattle market, the source of the raw material of this industry. Drainage was of particular importance to an industry which created a large amount of putrid water as a by-product. This location at the lower end of the Tyropoeon Valley made it fairly easy to dispose of the waste, which could run down the slope outside the city wall to the south.

No less important was the nearby water source, the Pool of Siloam. This pool is specifically mentioned as a source of water for the tanning industry.[3] According to the Old French Continuation of William of Tyre the water was used for tanning.[4]

Excavations carried out in the 1990s uncovered a number of plastered pools and channels inside the city near the Tanners' Gate.[5] These have been tentatively dated to the Mamluk period, but final dating awaits publication.[6]

A related industry was that of the furriers. The cold winters in Jerusalem, with temperatures occasionally dropping below 0°C, and the cool autumn and spring

evenings, make the presence of furriers in the city less than surprising. We know of their existence from the presence of a Street of the Furriers (*Vicus Pelliparíorum*, *Rue des Pelletiers*) which was apparently located in the Tyropoeon Valley. The fact that furs were worn in the East is evident from references to fur clothing in the Rule of the Temple and the Statutes of the Hospitaller.[7] In the Middle Ages there were more natural forests in the area than today and consequently there were more fur-bearing animals, but squirrel and other furs which appear in the sources were probably imported.[8]

According to *La Citez*, the city's butchers were located to the north of Temple Street opposite the street leading to the German hospital: 'Going down this street you come to Butchers' Place.'[9] This location placed them conveniently near to the cattle market to the south and near to the main market streets, including *Malquisinat* to the west, where many of the town's cooks were employed.

Goldsmiths and silversmiths were located in the heart of Jerusalem, manufacturing items for the pilgrims who visited the city. Goldsmiths were established in the city fairly soon and by the 1130s are recorded as witnessing charters in Jerusalem.[10] The early appearance of this industry may be seen as another aspect of the development of Jerusalem as a pilgrimage centre. Objects for liturgical use and items which could be purchased by pilgrims as keepsakes were manufactured. As is only natural, they were located in the area frequented by pilgrims, near the holy sites, lodging houses and markets. Thus we find a concentration of goldsmiths and silversmiths in the centre of the city not far from the Church of the Holy Sepulchre. According to *La Citez*:

> On the right hand of this Market [where cheese, chickens, eggs and birds were sold] are the shops of the Syrian gold-workers . . . On the left hand of the Market are the shops of the Latin gold-workers.[11]

A particularly fine example of what was probably manufactured by these craftsmen has survived in Jerusalem: a reliquary in the form of a mitre made from rock crystal and gold was found in the crypt of the Church of St John the Baptist.[12]

Blacksmiths are not specifically referred to in the sources, but they would have been well represented among the tradesmen of the city, shoeing horses, manufacturing and repairing weapons, armour, different household items and perhaps some ornamental works.

There are few references to potteries in Crusader Jerusalem.[13] Pottery was perhaps mainly carried out by Eastern Christians, perhaps Armenians, who are involved in ceramic manufacture today. Their quarter is in a convenient position with regard to clay sources: two beds of potters' clay are located in the Hinnom Valley outside the Zion Gate.

In the fifteenth century the street in the Tyropoeon Valley was referred to as the Street of the Valley of the Mills.[14] This name may reflect the situation in Frankish Jerusalem, in which a great many flour mills, frequently accompanied by bakery ovens, were located throughout the city. Mills are recorded on most of the main streets of the city and in all the quarters, as well as outside the walls. The Cartulary of the Holy Sepulchre records twenty-five bakeries held by the canons of the church.[15] The abbey of St Mary of Jehoshaphat held mills and ovens in *Juiverie* and elsewhere and the

Hospitallers held at least two bakeries.[16] The Order of St Lazarus had a mill outside *Porta David*.[17] Under the Franks milling and baking were *bannum* (feudal monopolies) and individuals were required to use the lord's mills and ovens. After the Crusader period milling and baking once again became domestic occupations. The Mamluk Haram documents mention only a single baker, a fact which makes it clear that at that time most people baked their own bread.[18]

There were also wine presses and oil mills in Jerusalem. The manufacture of soap from olive oil is a traditional industry in the region, and soap manufacturers probably existed in Jerusalem in the Crusader period.[19] The ash heaps to the north of the city may relate to this industry, but this would be difficult to verify.[20]

There were certainly privately owned inns in the city and there must have been taverns. Two taverns appear on the Florence map, though they are probably not based on any knowledge of the presence of such institutions in twelfth-century Jerusalem, since this map is a fairly late, post-Crusader version of the round map.[21] Nonetheless we can be sure that the sanctity of the Holy City did not make teetotallers of the Frankish population.

Among other trades were tailors (*parmentaria*).[22] Manufacturers of wax candles are recorded in *La Citez* as being located in the street leading from the Syrian exchange to the Church of the Holy Sepulchre.[23]

There appear to have been many impoverished people in the city.[24] Some of these would seek casual work as labourers. Thus we hear of unemployed labourers gathering in a square in the town in search of part-time work.[25] Construction, particularly in the first half of the century, and no doubt throughout the Crusader period, provided employment for masons, plasterers, turners and a range of other experts, as well as unskilled labourers.[26]

Financial institutions

Unlike the coastal towns of Acre and Tyre, Jerusalem was not a major centre of commerce. However, as the capital of the kingdom, with a large population and a continual influx of visitors, it had an important role to play. As the centre of government it was the location of one of the royal mints. Numismatic evidence for the Jerusalem mint is found in thirteenth-century billon coins with the legend 'Struck at Jerusalem'.[27] The mint could have been located at the citadel or perhaps in the palace. Alternatively it could have been near the centre of the city where the goldsmiths and silversmiths and the money exchanges were located.[28]

At the centre of the town were the money exchanges (*cambiatores*). On the round maps, the exchange (*Cambium Monete*) is shown at a single location, at the crossing of the city's two main roads (Plate 7.3). However, as we learn from *La Citez*, the Syrian Exchange was at the northern end of the Triple Market and the Latin Exchange at its south. The Syrian Exchange was beside the Fish Market and seems to have adjoined the Triple Market: 'To that [the Syrian] Exchange the three streets join which also join the Latin Exchange.'[29]

As regards the Latin Exchange, *La Citez* notes: 'By the Covered Street you go through the Latin Exchange to a street called the Street of the Arch of Judas and you

cross the Street of the Temple'.[30] From this we can conclude that the Latin Exchange was located at the southern end of the Covered Street and, it would seem, immediately to the north of Temple Street. Since one went through it (*par le change des Latins*), it was probably a vaulted building extending over the passage between David Street and Temple Street. At this spot today there is a medieval, possibly Crusader passage on the east which Burgoyne has suggested may have been a market street.[31]

There may have been additional exchanges operated by the principal financial powers in the city. Evidence for one example is found in a charter dated 1143 which mentions the Hospitallers' Exchange on Mount Zion Street on the second storey of a house belonging to the canons of the Holy Sepulchre.[32]

Money exchanges played a vital role in a city where pilgrims were constantly arriving from the West. In Europe banking began to develop in Italian cities at the end of the twelfth century when money changers began to accept deposits that were repayable on demand and to give advances on current accounts. But the activities of the Jerusalem exchanges could have included banking practices adopted from the East, where banking preceded the West by two or three centuries.[33]

CHAPTER SEVENTEEN

PRIVATE SPACE

Considering the very substantial number of public buildings of medieval date surviving in Jerusalem, it is perhaps somewhat surprising that there is very little evidence for domestic architecture of the Crusade period. Whereas in the West the rarity of surviving twelfth-century domestic buildings, and the frequent lack of anything more than the most fragmentary archaeological remains, can be explained by the fact that they were constructed from perishable materials, in the Latin East they were almost always built from stone. Nonetheless, no more than a handful of twelfth-century houses can be observed in Jerusalem, most of them merely fragments. This state of affairs seems remarkable when we compare Jerusalem to Acre, where many Crusader houses survive throughout the city and excavations are constantly exposing additional ones. Even in smaller towns such as Caesarea, Arsuf and Yoqne'am there are several domestic buildings. How can we explain the lack of domestic buildings in Jerusalem?

Perhaps this is best done by comparing events in Jerusalem after the Crusader period to what happened to the towns in which we do find twelfth- and thirteenth-century domestic architecture, particularly the coastal towns. In the last decades of Frankish rule, towards the end of the thirteenth century, the Mamluk conquerors carried out a 'scorched-earth' policy aimed at preventing the Crusaders from regaining a foothold in the Holy Land as they had done in the Third Crusade (1189–92) after their defeat at Hattin. Perhaps because of its importance to Islam, Jerusalem suffered much less damage when it was captured by the Khawarizmians in 1244. We might expect that this would result in the survival of more buildings in Jerusalem than in the coastal towns, and to some extent this is true. With a few exceptions, churches and other public buildings are better preserved in Jerusalem. However, with regard to private buildings, it is perhaps ironically the Mamluk destruction that has preserved them. The coastal towns, particularly Acre and Tyre, were dismantled by knocking down the upper storeys of two-, three- and occasionally four-storey buildings, leaving a pile of ruins which covered, and consequently preserved, the lower floors. When the abandoned cities were eventually rebuilt in the late Ottoman period, the new houses were built on top of, or incorporating, the Crusader ruins, and the considerable remains were thus preserved beneath them. It is possible today to trace well over 100 Crusader period structures in Acre, most of them private buildings. Jerusalem, on the other hand, was not destroyed. Its houses continued to be occupied and, as is the nature of domestic

architecture, even if stone-built, over time they deteriorated and were gradually replaced.

In this regard another factor should be taken into account. When the Crusaders besieged Jerusalem in 1099 they did little damage to the buildings within the walls; once they had entered the city, they occupied the houses of the Muslim and Jewish residents. William of Tyre describes this:

> Each marauder claimed as his own in perpetuity the particular house which he had entered, together with all it contained . . . At the entrance of each house, as it was taken, the victor hung up his shield and his arms, as a sign to all who approached not to pause there but to pass by that place as already in possession of another.[1]

Probably many of the houses occupied during the conquest survived to the end of Frankish rule. Consequently there would be little need for the Franks to build new houses in the city.

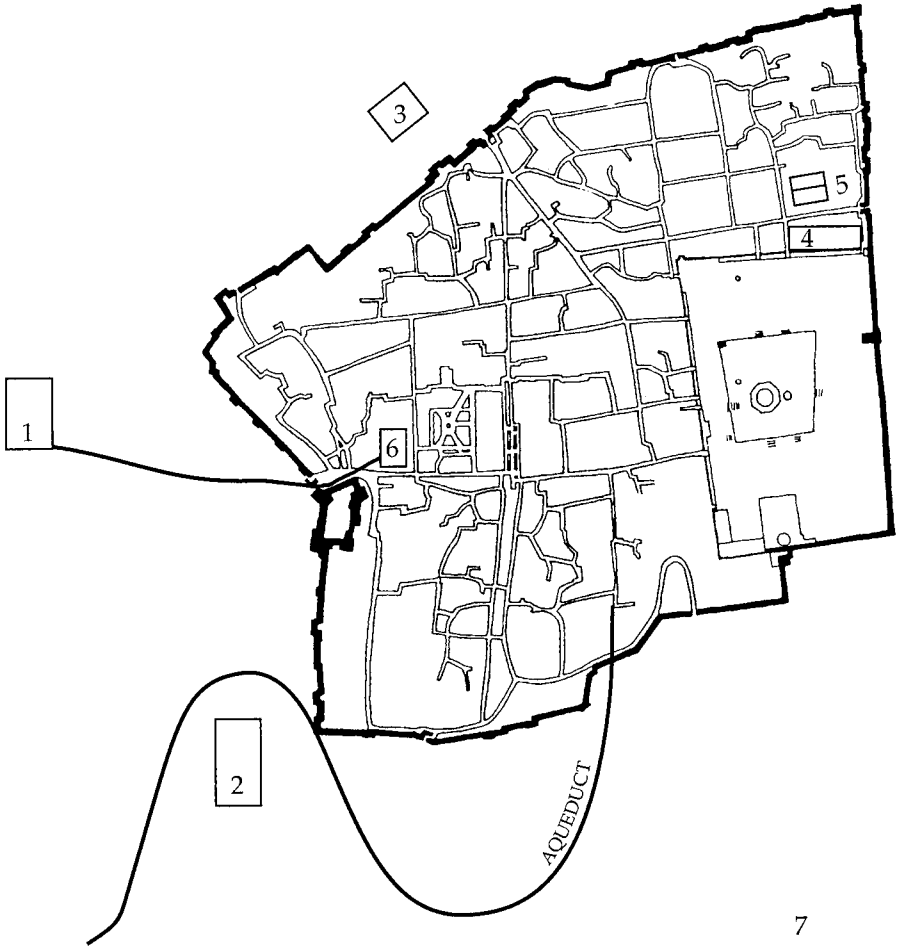
As in thirteenth-century Acre, we occasionally come across the term 'palace' in written sources. In 1158 Pope Hadrian IV confirmed to the abbey of St Mary Latin the grant of a palace (*palatium*) located next to St Stephen's Gate, as well as certain houses to the east of the palace and houses above the city walls next to it, as far as the second tower on the walls (. . . *a plaga australi quasdam domos post illud palatium, domos supra murum urbis iuxta idem palatium usque ad secundam-turrum murorum* . . .).[2] In Acre the term 'palace' was often applied to what were in essence apartment buildings for merchants, but in Jerusalem, which had comparatively few merchants, it probably refers to the houses of wealthy and important residents.

WATER SOURCES AND THE COMMUNAL WATER SUPPLY

Jerusalem's annual rainfall is about 600 mm, close to that of London.[1] However it falls in a brief rainy season, particularly between November and March (a quarter of the total rainfall in January alone) in heavy downfalls of short duration. The remainder of the year is almost completely dry. As the proximity of the watershed and the steep hills preclude the formation of large rivers or lakes in the vicinity (the River Jordan is 30 km away in the Jordan Rift Valley to the east) and the short duration of the rainfall makes spring water an erratic source, the best means of supplying water for the needs of the city is by collecting the rainwater in large reservoirs or in underground cisterns. Several open pools were located in the area around the city and within the city walls (Figure 18.1). Other more distant pools supplied water via aqueducts. Hundreds, perhaps thousands of cisterns, some very large, were located in the city under public buildings, houses and courtyards. The Gihon Spring to the south of the city supplemented the water supply.

Springs

The ancient water source of Jerusalem, the Gihon Spring and the Pool of Siloam which it fed, were still in use in the Crusader period and the spring (*fons Syloe*) appears prominently on several of the maps of the city. However, most contemporary accounts are in agreement that it was not a very reliable source. William of Tyre noted: 'Its waters are neither sweet nor constant, for the flow is intermittent and its waters are said to bubble forth only every other day.'[2] Fulcher of Chartres comments: 'Sometimes it has enough water, and sometimes a deficiency due to a slight drainage.'[3] Benjamin of Tudela wrote in *c.* 1175: 'There is only little water.'[4] According to Jacques de Vitry, the water only flowed on three or four days during the week.[5] By the Crusader period a partial blocking of the tunnel by the accumulation of sediments may have increased the irregularity of this source. In addition, it would appear that the spring had become polluted by the seepage of waste through the rock roof above it.[6] This is the chief reason why the water from the pool could be used only for irrigation, watering livestock and in the industries in the vicinity both inside and outside the city walls.[7] However, it should be noted that the decline in quality of this water source probably occurred long



1. Mamilla Pool
2. Pool of Germain
3. Pool of St. Lazarus
4. Birqat Isra'îl
5. Sheeps' Pool
6. Patriarch's Pool
7. Pool of Siloam
8. Bir-Ayyûb

Figure 18.1 Water sources in Jerusalem (drawn by Dalit Weinblatt).

before the Crusader period. Although in the tenth century al-Muqaddasi referred to the water as 'fairly good', he noted that it was used for irrigation.[8]

Theoderich wrote that the water bubbled out of the earth and filled two pools, one above the other. The upper pool was surrounded by a portico and thirteen steps led down into the pool. The lower pool was square and had a simple wall around it.[9] The church located here in the Byzantine period does not seem to have been rebuilt in the Crusader period.

Aqueducts

Although there is no direct reference to it, one of the three ancient aqueducts carrying water from Solomon's Pools and Artas south of Bethlehem was apparently still in use in the Crusader period.[10] This was the low-level aqueduct, a conduit constructed of ceramic pipes set in mortar, which ran across the Hinnom Valley, just above the Pool of Germain (Sultan's Pool), wound around Mount Zion and entered the city west of the Tanners' Postern. From there it ran north along the eastern scarp of the Upper City and via the bridge across the Tyropoeon reached the reservoirs on the Temple Mount.

Open reservoirs

Open reservoirs inside and outside the city walls were important sources of water. They may have supplied drinking water, but were more likely used for livestock and to water vegetable gardens. Both the *Lacus Germani* and the outer Patriarch's Pool at Mamilla are specifically mentioned in sources as being used to water horses.[11] Most of the drinking water in the city would have been supplied by the numerous cisterns and the Pool of Siloam, perhaps supplemented by water carried by the aqueduct from Artas.

Pools outside the City

As the population of Jerusalem expanded it became necessary to increase the water supply. In the 1170s a new pool known as Germain's Pool, *Lac Germains*, *Lacus Germani* (now the Sultan's Pool) was constructed in the upper part of the Hinnom Valley west of the city. The present name probably derives from the sixteenth-century work of Sultan Sulaimân Ibn-Salim (1520–66), who restored the dam. It is first referred to by Theoderich, who calls it the *Nova Cisterna*.[12] This suggests that the pool was constructed not long before his visit in *c.* 1169. The medieval origins of this pool are connected to the philanthropic Germain (or Germanus), who carried out various works to improve the water supply in the city, including in 1184 the construction of three fountains and clearance of the blocked well of Bir-Ayyûb.[13] The pool is also referred to in *La Citez* though the name has by this time been distorted as German Lake, i.e. a reservoir built by a certain German:

> As soon as you have descended the mountain, you come to a pool in the valley, which is called the German Lake because a German here collected the waters which descended the mountain-sides when it rained, and there they watered the horses of the city.[14]

The reservoir was not entirely new but was an extension of an existing pool. It was formed by the construction of two walls across the Hinnom Valley, the southern one being thicker (*c.* 8.5 m) and much higher (*c.* 18 m), forming a dam which could hold the water that gathered there. The pool measures *c.* 180 m by *c.* 80 m) and is roughly rectangular in shape. Above the upper (northern) wall was a smaller pool which may have served as a filter or settling tank. Occasionally Germain's Pool is

referred to as a lake, a term more befitting an open-air reservoir than the 'cistern' used by Theoderich.[15]

The pool known as Patriarch's Pool (*Lac du Patriarche*, a name also applied to the pool in the Patriarch's Quarter inside the city), was also referred to as *Fons Gihon Superior* (Plate 18.1). It existed at least as early as the Byzantine period in the neighbourhood known as Mamilla to the west of David's Gate. It is recorded at the time of the Persian conquest of Jerusalem in 614.[16] The connection between the external and internal pools was a physical one and not merely in name. A conduit carried water from the outer pool to the Patriarch's Pool within the walls, entering the city at a point just north of Jaffa Gate. The conduit had a branch which fed the cistern under the north-west tower of the citadel.[17] The conduit, together with the two pools, was patriarchal property and became *waqf* after the occupation of Jerusalem by Saladin in 1187.[18] The pool, which is largely of fairly modern construction, measures 96 m by 66 m (east wall) and 61 m (west wall). It is 5.8 m deep on average with buttressed walls and has a capacity estimated at *c.* 32,000 cubic metres. The conduit extended from its lower southern end and at a distance of about 11.6 m there was a chamber where it narrowed from 53.3 cm^2 to 23 cm^2 and could be closed by a stone in order to regulate the flow.[19]

The Pool of St Lazarus, *Lacus Legerii* may possibly also be the *Cisternam Grandem Hospitariorum* mentioned by Theoderich, which was situated between the hospital of the lepers and the Church of St Stephen.[20] It was located outside the northern city wall, west of St Stephen's Gate (Damascus Gate) in or near the area occupied by the Order

Plate 18.1 Outer Patriarch's Pool (Mamilla) (photograph by the author).

of St Lazarus. It seems clear that it was situated in the low-lying area at the bottom of the Musrara neighbourhood north of the Old City, beside the modern highway. At this place there is a fairly large depression, the lowest point in the area except for the entrance to Damascus Gate. The ground slopes down to it on all sides, especially on the north and west, making it a perfect catchment area for run-off rainwater. Clermont-Ganneau noted that on old Arabic legal documents there was a field here marked *Hâret al-Birqet* (Street or Quarter of the Pool).[21]

Warren and Wilson described a pool further to the north of the city walls, sometimes referred to as the Northern Pool:

> The pool to the left of the north road, a little beyond the Tomb of the Kings, is now nearly filled with soil, washed down by the winter rains; but there is still at one end a shallow excavation which holds water after heavy rains. This must have been the largest pool in the neighbourhood of the city, and is admirably suited for collecting the surface water of the upper branches of the Kedron. It is yet uncertain how its water was brought into Jerusalem.[22]

To the south, against the northern wall near St Mary Magdalene's postern, there was a small pool which Pierotti called the Pilgrims' Pool (*Birqat al-Hijah*).[23] It may, however, be fairly late. According to Robinson:

> In the depression east of Herod's gate is a reservoir in the city trench, where we saw men drawing water in skins, and transporting it into the city on donkeys. It is filled in the rainy season by the water which flows down the valley.[24]

A second small pool, *Birqat Sitti Maryam*, was situated outside and just to the north of Jehoshaphat's Gate. It too was poorly positioned to capture surface water, and Wilson and Warren described it as so placed that it could receive no surface water and was apparently fed by an aqueduct.[25] While it was conveniently located to supply water to the medieval bathhouse just inside Jehoshaphat's Gate, there is no evidence that this pool is of ancient origin.[26]

Pools inside the City

There is some confusion regarding the pools in the north-east of the city. The names *Bethsaida* and *Piscina Probatica* are used for both the large reservoir located against the north-eastern wall of the Temple Mount (*Birqat Isra'il*) and the reservoir north-west of the Church of St Anne. Only on the Cambrai map is the *Probatica Piscina* shown at the site of the *Birqat Isra'il*.[27] On all the other medieval maps the title *Piscina*, apparently representing the double pool, is shown to the north-west of St Anne's. On the London and Paris maps the name *Bethsaida* (Bethesda) appears beside it, and on the later Brussels-B and Florence maps *Piscina vel Porticus* (*Porticibus*).[28] It is in fact the only reservoir in the city to be shown on these maps, perhaps more indicative of its religious importance than its merit as a water source.

The Sheep's Pool is traditionally the place where sheep were washed for sacrifice in the Jewish Temple. According to the evangelist John, the pool had five porticoes and

it was here that Christ healed the paralytic.[29] In 333 AD, the Bordeaux pilgrim referred to twin pools with five porticoes, called *Bethsaida*.[30] Several other sources give a similar description of this pool, and this is how it is shown on two of the round maps (Brussels-B and Florence).[31] In the early fourteenth century, Marino Sanudo mentions the 'five arches in which the sick used to lie waiting for the troubling of the water'.[32] In excavations carried out after the Church of St Anne and the surrounding property came into the hands of the French government, the double pool (measuring 48.7 m by 48.7 m and 13.4 m deep) and related constructions were exposed. The ruins of a small Crusader church between the pools were found to be constructed on a substructure consisting of a row of five barrel-vaults running from west to east, open to the south and with windows on the north. These vaults were themselves constructed on four rock-cut piers supporting five porches covered with masonry vaults.[33] An interesting detail on the Brussels-B and Florence maps is a flaming beacon shown on the roof of the portico, perhaps signifying that this was a place of healing.

The ancient pool known as *Birqat Isra'il* was constructed against the eastern part of the northern enclosure wall of the Temple Mount and south of the Street to Jehoshaphat's Gate. It was filled in in the 1930s. It measured 109.7 m long, 38.4 m wide and *c.* 10 m deep.

The inner Patriarch's Pool, the pool now known as Hezekiah's Pool, is a large open reservoir which from the Middle Ages was connected to a bathhouse to its east, and consequently was also known as the *Lacus Balneorum*.[34] That this pool was the source of water for the bathhouse is stated explicitly in charters of the Order of St John dated 1137 and 1167, '*hauriendi aquarum in lacu Balneorum nostrorum*'.[35] As noted above, the reservoir retained this function until the end of the nineteenth century.[36]

The pool is rectangular, measuring c. 76 m by 44 m. The bedrock was levelled and covered with mortar and a staircase was constructed in the north-western corner, probably long before the Crusader period. The aqueduct from Mamilla enters the pool in the south-west.

By the nineteenth century the winter rains seem generally to have filled only a small part of the pool in the south-east, but there would probably have been a better supply from the outer pool at Mamilla in the Middle Ages.[37]

Cisterns

Cisterns supplied most of the drinking water in Jerusalem until the early twentieth century. They were the most reliable source of water; except in the occasional drought years, rainwater could be collected during the winter on the flat roofs and paved courtyards and carried by pipes and channels to the cisterns. By this means the cisterns provided the cleanest and most regular supply of water, and consequently most of the city's drinking water.[38] Schick wrote in some detail of the cisterns in the Muristan.[39] He noted most of these cisterns were only partly cut in the rock and some were ancient buildings on a lower level which were converted into cisterns in the twelfth century.[40]

Wells

Bir-Ayyûb (Job's Well) was identified by the Franks with Biblical Ain-Rogel. In his efforts for the improvement of the water supply to the city, Germain is said to have heard of an ancient well located not far from Siloam, apparently in 1184, during a period of drought. He brought workers to excavate at the spot. They indeed found a caved-in water hole, emptied it and reconstructed the well with masonry over which they constructed an *antiliya*.[41] This was in use for only a few years and was closed and concealed at the time of Saladin's approach. Later the well was reopened and named for Saladin's father, Ayyûb. The well is described by Sir Charles Wilson as being 125 feet deep (38 m).[42]

Fountains

During the drought in 1184, the same Germain endowed Jerusalem with three drinking fountains. The thirteenth-century French *Continuation* of William of Tyre recorded this event:

> In the first year after the death of King Baldwin the Leper it did not rain at all in the Kingdom of Jerusalem . . . Because of the shortage of water he [Germain] had marble basins set into the walls in three places in Jerusalem, and at each of these basins he had two cups attached by chains, and he always kept them full of water. Any man or woman could go there to drink.[43]

The head of a fountain found in the excavations of Damascus Gate in 1980 perhaps came from one of these basins or from some similar installation.[44]

SEWAGE AND DRAINAGE

There is at present no evidence for an organized sewage system in Crusader Jerusalem. An ancient system of drains running under the street along the Tyropoeon Valley and under David Street may possibly still have functioned in the Middle Ages, and it seems likely that there were solutions for specific problem areas. There was some form of drainage to dispose of the refuse from the cattle market and the tanners located in the south-east, perhaps into the Tyropoeon drain which led out towards the Pool of Silwan in the south. A drain recorded in the nineteenth century, leading waste from the bathhouse in the Patriarch's Quarter into the ancient conduit under David Street, was constructed in the Crusader period, and there must have been other such works in the city.[1] However, there is one place where archaeology has recently uncovered evidence for a large drainage project. This is outside the walls in the Valley of Jehoshaphat. Around 870, Bernard the Monk visited the Tomb of the Virgin Mary and wrote that it had no roof and 'stands rain badly'.[2] Being situated low in the valley, and lying directly in the path of the Kidron Brook, the church suffered greatly from the flow of water in winter months. At some time in the twelfth century, the Franks carried out a major project aimed at alleviating this problem by diverting the water of the stream to the west, out of the path of the church, via a large barrel-vaulted conduit. A broad dam was constructed 67 m north of the church to redirect the waters towards the conduit.[3]

This project was discovered in 1998, during work on the modern channel that runs along the Kidron Valley carrying the winter rains and sewage overflow. The vault, which crosses the valley in a more or less east–west alignment, is 32.9 m long, 5.9 m wide and its height varies from 2.3 m to at least 4 m. It was built of diagonally tooled ashlars, several with masons' marks. On the southern side of the vault are six piers supporting five blind arches. There are twenty shafts in the vault through which the flow of rainwater entered the vault. At the east end is a passage possibly providing access for the occasional clearing of mud blocking the vault. At the west end is a blocked vaulted channel. The paved floor slopes down towards the centre and in a general westerly direction to facilitate the water flow. Archaeologists suggest that the appearance in the Church of the Tomb of the Virgin of identical masons' marks to those found in the conduit points to the likelihood that both were built at the same time as part of a single construction project.[4] A smaller vault built against the west end of the

main vault, which seems to have directed the flow from the conduit past the abbey buildings and towards the south, was discovered in September 2000.

There is no contemporary record of this project. After the Crusader period the installation seems to have fallen into disrepair, and by the thirteenth century the vault appears to have gone completely out of use. Burchard of Mount Zion wrote in 1280:

> But this church is exceedingly damp inside, because underneath it runs the brook Cedron, covered up with the aforesaid fillings-up, and whenever there is a flood of rain-water, this brook, which still runs in its old channel under the fillings-up, bursts forth and fills the church, so that often it runs up all the steps and out at the mouth of the chapel at the top of them.[5]

An almost identical description is given by Marino Sanudo in 1321:

> The church is very damp for the brook runs beneath it, full of the waters from the places aforesaid, and holds its ancient course; but when there is much rain the aforesaid brook overflows and fills the church, insomuch that often the water covers all the stairs and runs out of the door of the chapel that stands at the top of them.[6]

The drainage system may have been damaged by Saladin when he dismantled the upper church or may simply have become blocked through lack of maintenance.

BURIAL INSIDE AND OUTSIDE THE CITY

A number of burial sites are known within and without the walls of Jerusalem (Figure 20.1).[1] The medieval class structure, so evident in feudal life, found its counterpart in the segregation of the dead. Kings and queens were buried *ad sanctos* (among the holy), specifically in the two most holy Christian burial sites: the Holy Sepulchre and the Tomb of the Virgin Mary. Other members of the royal family were probably buried nearby as were more important nobles. For example, not far from the royal tombs, just outside the portals of the church, is the tomb of the knight Philip d'Aubigné. Members of ecclesiastical communities, monasteries and military orders were buried in the churchyards or in special cemeteries, lesser nobles and burgesses were buried in burial grounds outside the walls, and the poor, pilgrims and those who died in the hospitals were buried in charnel houses.

The royal burials

The first eight kings of the Kingdom of Jerusalem were buried in the Chapel of Adam below Calvary and in the adjacent southern arm of the transept. The tomb-markers survived the Ayyubid and Mamluk conquests and remained in place until the great conflagration of 1808, after which the Greeks had them removed.[2] Of these tombs, we know for certain only of fragments of the tomb of the child-king Baldwin V, which was in the form of an elaborately carved sarcophagus. It has been partly reconstructed on the basis of the eighteenth-century illustration by Elezarius (Elzear) Horn.[3] Baldwin V died in 1186, one year before the Battle of Hattin, at the age of nine, and the tomb must date from between his death and the fall of Jerusalem in October, 1187. It is an ornate chest-like construction decorated with twisted columns and elaborate capitals. On the upper part was Christ's figure flanked by angels with conchoid niches between them. The entablature at the top and the lower chest were decorated with wet-leaf acanthus, typical of the fine sculptural work carried out in twelfth-century Jerusalem. The tomb was covered with a slab inscribed with an epitaph.

The other royal tombs were simple by comparison, formed of rectangular blocks of marble on which a number of small columns supported a large gable-shaped stone. Epitaphs were engraved on the top and crosses were carved on the ends of the stones.

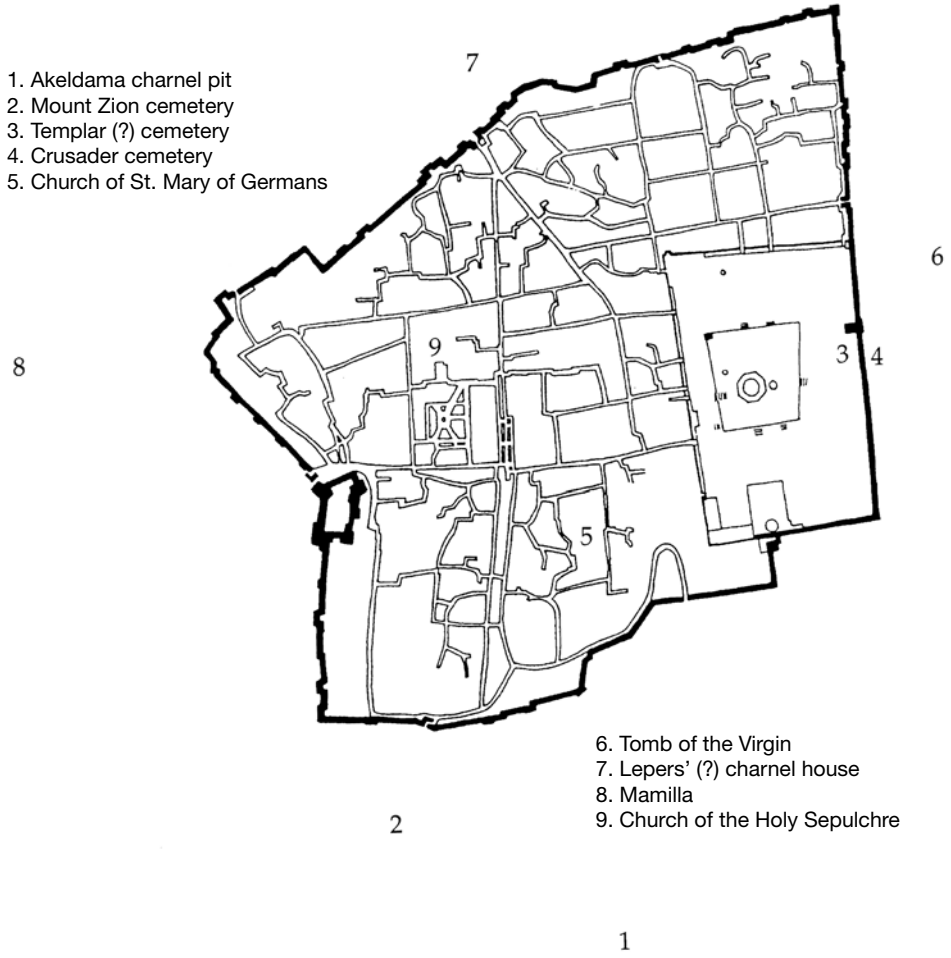


Figure 20.1 Burial sites in and around Jerusalem (drawn by Dalit Weinblatt).

A fragment probably originating in one of the tombs, consisting of a group of small, twisted pillars, is now on display in the Museum of the Flagellation in Jerusalem. A group of monuments similar to the sarcophagus of Baldwin V are found in secondary use on the Temple Mount. These may have been the tombs of members of the royal family or other high nobles.[4]

Tombs in the Chapel of the Forty Martyrs and the Chapel of St James

During recent excavations in the Chapel of the Forty Martyrs to the south of the Rotunda (under the belfry) a group of five cist tombs was discovered. They contained the unarticulated remains of several bodies and have been dated to the early thirteenth

century.[5] A more remarkable rediscovery is of a group of six niche tombs, three on each of two walls of the southernmost chapel, the Chapel of St James. These tombs consisted of simple but well-constructed sarcophagi (the stones have typically Frankish diagonal tooling) with miniature pillars and capitals on their corners. No inscriptions survive and there is at present no way of knowing who were buried in these tombs but we can assume that they were members of the royal family or of high nobles as it is unlikely that anyone of lesser status would have been buried in such a location.

The tomb of Philip d'Aubigné in the Parvis of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre

Outside the southern entrance to the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, between the two portals, is the tomb of an English knight, one Philip d'Aubigné, governor of the Channel Islands in the reign of John and his son Henry III, and tutor of the young King Henry.[6] He is mentioned in the Magna Carta as one of the nobles who gave counsel to the king. He died on pilgrimage in Jerusalem in 1236. The tomb, which was discovered in 1867 after the removal of a stone bench, has a trapezoid stone engraved with a three-line epitaph in Latin: *HIC IACET PHILIPPVS DE AVBIGNI CVIVS ANIMA REQVIESCAT IN PACE AMEN* (Here lies Philip d'Aubigné. May his soul rest in peace). Beneath the inscription is engraved a shield bearing his arms: four fusils in fess upon a heater-shaped shield.

Burials on the Temple Mount

It would appear that there was a burial ground for the Templars on the Temple Mount. When Frederick, Advocate of Regensburg, died in Jerusalem in 1148, he was buried in a cemetery near the *Templum Salomonis*.[7] In 1891 Conrad Schick reported that excavations to remove the accumulation of soil around the Golden Gate had exposed

> a great many graves . . . in a level a few feet above the flooring of the gate. All the graves are in a direction from west to east; all are lined with stones round about, and covered with stone slabs. All of them had still bones and mould, and seem to have been made in time of peace – not in haste or a time of tumult. So I am inclined to think that they are very likely Christian, and from the time of the Crusades. The workpeople told me that nothing else than bones were found in them; no crosses or any such things.[8]

It seems likely that Schick's cemetery was the one in which the Advocate of Regensburg was buried and which served as the chief burial ground of the Templars. It was located near the Templars' headquarters and, being adjacent to the Golden Gate, was on the route sanctified as that taken by Jesus when he entered the city. It was also on the route of the annual procession on Palm Sunday.

Melisende's tomb and Crusader burials in the Valley of Jehoshaphat

The desire of kings to be buried near the burial place of Jesus was paralleled by the wish of at least one Crusader queen, the wife of Fulk, Queen Melisende, to be buried in the corresponding location, the Church of the Tomb of the Virgin Mary in the Valley of Jehoshaphat. William of Tyre mentions that Melisende was buried in a stone crypt guarded with iron gates on the right hand of the descent to the tomb of the Virgin.[9] In the cloister of the church were the tombs of a cousin of Godfrey of Bouillon, Granier de Grey (d. 1100), and of a second knight named Arnulf of Oudenarde who was killed at Ascalon in 1107.[10]

Burial in the German Hospital

In 1176 Sophia, Countess of Holland, died during her third pilgrimage to the Holy Land. It is recorded that she was buried in the German hospital in Jerusalem.[11] There may have been a small burial ground in the quarter or possibly she was buried in the church, but no evidence for either of these possibilities survives.

Graveyard of the knights who fell during the First Crusade

After the Frankish conquest of Jerusalem in 1099, the vast number of Muslim and Jewish dead were carried out of the city and probably buried in the near vicinity. One area, however, was apparently reserved for the burial of the Crusader dead. This was the slope immediately outside the *Porta Aurea*. John of Würzburg mentions a famous burial place at the foot of the city wall near the Golden Gate.[12] Here prayers were said by participants in the 15 July procession commemorating the capture of the city.

Mount Zion

Excavations carried out by Henry Maudslay on the rock scarp in the area between the Protestant School and the English cemetery on the south-west side of Mount Zion in 1874 uncovered some Crusader remains, namely several ashlars including a loophole and part of a trapezoid-shaped tombstone with the short inscription: *HIC REQVIESCIT IOH[ANNE]S DE VALENCINUS* (Here rests Johannes of Valencinus). This stone is now located in the grounds of the Church of St Anne. Clermont-Ganneau suggested that the absence of a cross on this stone may mean that it was unfinished. Because of its similarity to the tombstone of Philip d'Aubigné, he tentatively dated it to the period of Frankish rule between 1229 and 1244.[13] It is possible that a tombstone carvers' workshop was located at this site on Mount Zion, perhaps adjacent to a cemetery.[14]

The Mamilla Cemetery

This cemetery is located around the Mamilla Pool to the west of the city, about 750 m from *Porta David*. The site was traditionally known as the Cemetery of the Lion because, as *La Citez* relates, a tradition records that following a battle fought here in which many Christians were killed, a lion carried the bodies to a ditch to prevent the people of the city from burning them.[15] At the end of the nineteenth century a number of Frankish sarcophagi could be seen in the cemetery of Mamilla in Jerusalem. Clermont-Ganneau described the two fine 'Gothic-style' monuments that can still be seen and a number of lesser markers, many of them 'hewn into a prismatic shape, with a shelving ridge, sometimes connected with a base'.[16] In 1955 several of these tombs were bulldozed aside during work on the new Independence Park.[17] Only one or two examples are partially visible today, apart from the two monumental sarcophagi, which are more or less intact. Of the latter, one is located in a Mamluk funerary chapel known as *al-Kebekiyeh*, which incorporates other architectural *spolia* from the Crusader period. The other sarcophagus is situated to the west of the Mamilla pool (Plate 20.1). These two monuments, similar but not identical, are carved in the form of gabled buildings with blind-arched façades. They may possibly have been the tombs of canons of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre. The smaller of the two, located in the *al-Kebekiyeh*, is 180 cm long, 70 cm wide and 110 cm high. It has six blind arches on either side and two on each of the ends. The larger monument to the west is 257 centimeters long, 84 cm wide and 140 cm high. It has seven blind arches either side and two on each of the ends. Both display typical Frankish diagonal tooling.

Plate 20.1 Sarcophagus at Mamilla (photograph by the author).

Akeldama Charnel House/Carnarium/Chaudemar

In the Hinnom Valley to the south-east of the city are the remains of a large vaulted charnel house in a field granted by the patriarch to the Hospitallers of St John in 1143 for the burial of pilgrims who died in their hospital (Plate 20.2).[18] *La Citez* mentions Chaudmar as the place where pilgrims who died in the Hospital of Jerusalem were buried.[19] According to John of Würzburg, some fifty patients died in the hospital each night.[20] The Rule of the Hospital gives us some information on this. It records that the sick who died after Vespers were placed on biers with a light placed beside them. The biers were covered with a red coverlet with a white cross. The following day before Prime they were carried to the church (one of the three churches in the quarter, most likely St Mary Major, which was located next to and connected to the hospital) and after Mass they were buried (Figure 20.2).[21] Most likely they would have been carried out of the city through *Porta David* and down into the Valley of Hinnom to the charnel house.

Soil from this charnel pit was taken by Pisan ships to the new '*Campo Santo*' located in Pisa. This soil was said to have a remarkable quality; bodies cast into the pit decomposed within twenty-four hours (or three days according to some sources) without polluting the air with foul smells.[22] If true, this would have been a very beneficial aspect of a site which received an average of fifty new bodies daily. In the nineteenth century Pierotti attempted to test this by burying the carcass of a lamb in the chamber for eight days, but wrote: 'I am therefore driven to conclude that the soil

Plate 20.2 Akeldama charnel pit (photograph by Amit Re'em).

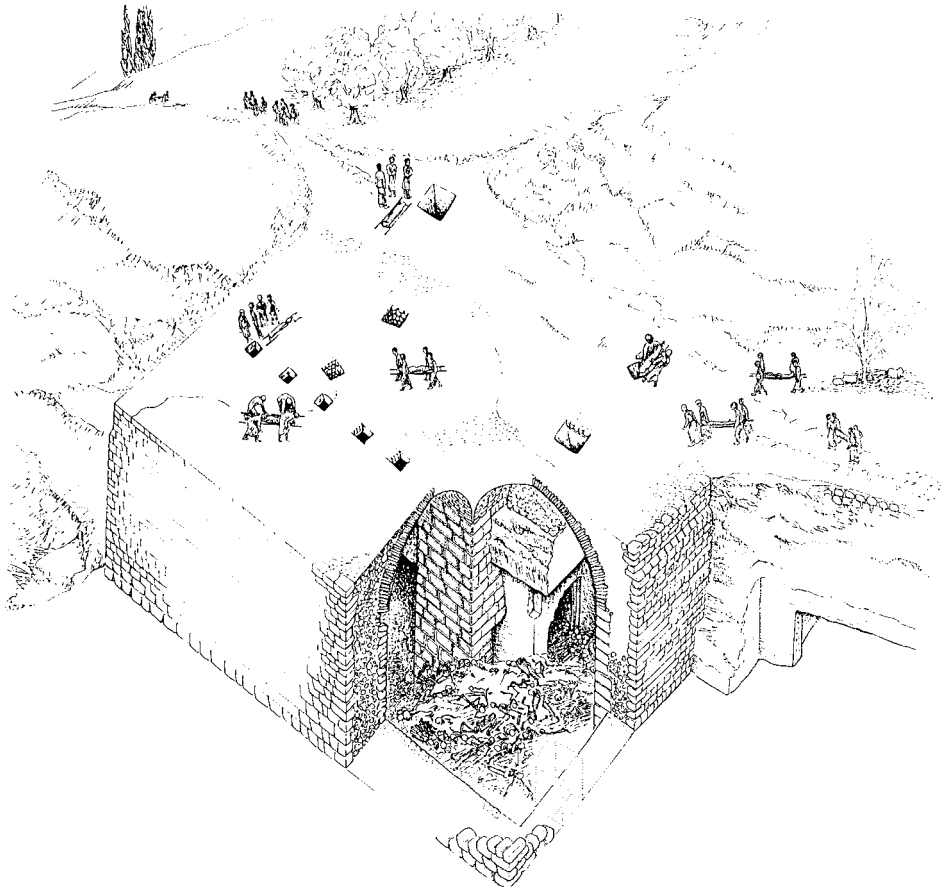


Figure 20.2 The charnel house in Akeldama
(courtesy of Amit Re'em drawn by Rachel Graf).

has lost its former virtue.'[23] However, according to another nineteenth-century account the burial of a dog in the pit proved the truth of this tradition.[24]

This site was used for burial long before the Crusader period; traditionally it was the field purchased by Judas Iscariot with the thirty pieces of silver, and where he himself was buried. A number of Second Temple period burial chambers can be seen carved in the rock outside the charnel house. In the seventh century the Venerable Bede referred to it as being used to bury 'persons of no note' and pointed out that 'others putrefy there unburied', an apparent reference to a long tradition of disposing of bodies here without burying them.[25]

The vault itself is partly constructed out of the natural rock and incorporates some early tombs. The Franks broadened the original chamber and expanded it considerably to the north by constructing a large slightly pointed barrel vault adjacent to it. The vault measures about 22 m by 9 m and is close to 10 m high. It is supported by a pier, partly rock-hewn and partly constructed of marginally drafted stones, with a wall 2.1 m thick on its north. The rock to the west is carved, as in the Church of the Holy Sepulchre,

with rows of crosses.[26] There are small square openings in the roof through which the bodies of the dead could be cast. Nine of these were in a row along the centre of the vault, two on the south side of the vault and an additional four above the cave and tombs. Fabri's description of the vault in the fifteenth century is worth quoting in full:

> The vaulted roof of this building measures fifty feet in width and seventy-two in length; from the openings down to the ground at the bottom is twenty-six feet. There is no way into this chamber save through these openings, and no one can enter it through them unless he be let down with ropes. It is a dwelling for the dead alone, and I believe that since the hour when it was finished no living man has entered this chamber, but he that hath once entered it will never come forth again until the day of judgement. I lay down on my belly and put my head inside, and saw therein five fresh human corpses among dry bones. Above the vault there is now no building, but grass grows thereon, and in some places covers over the openings so that they who walk thereon carelessly slip one of their feet into them.[27]

It would seem that originally a church was located above or adjacent to the charnel pit. It is recorded in a document of 1143, which mentions the church in the field of Akeldama which was granted to the Hospitallers and 'where the bodies of strangers are buried'.[28] Prior to this the church and pit seem to have been in the hands of the Syrians.[29] The church was destroyed, probably by Saladin, and was rebuilt in the fourteenth century, but was in ruins again by the time of Felix Fabri in 1483 who writes that the Saracens destroyed the church and conventual buildings on the site 'uprooting their very foundations'.[30] No trace of the church survives today and as there is no evidence whatsoever for any superstructure over the vault it seems likely that it was not built above the vault but somewhere nearby.

The charnel house north of St Stephen's Gate

A small charnel house was located to the north-east of St Stephen's Gate.[31] The structure, measuring 23 m by 16.5 m, was discovered at the end of the nineteenth century. It contained mass burials from the Byzantine to the Crusader periods.[32] The flagstone pavement covered graves in fifteen rows arranged north to south, each 50 cm wide and 2.75 m long (two metres according to Hanauer), separated from one another by a thin wall. Many contained eight to ten articulated corpses orientated with their heads to the west and feet to the east. In view of its location not far from the Lepers' house, this may have been the burial place of the Order of St Lazarus.[33]

Other burials

It is recorded that Eustace Garnier, the first lord of Caesarea, and his successor, Walter, were buried in the church of St Mary Latin.[34] A grave of Crusader date was recorded in the nineteenth century under the south wall of the church. According to the

description in the *Survey of Western Palestine* there were bones and skulls, one of which was cut by a sword; these may have been the remains of knights killed in battle.[35]

Crusader burials took place on the Mount of Olives.[36] A fragment of a tombstone of a tanner (*corparius*) from Acre was found in excavations carried out at Gethsemane at the foot of the Mount of Olives. It was inscribed [*HIC*] *IACET* [*CORPUS*] *LAMBERTI CORIPARII DE ACON* (Here lies the body of Lamberti, tanner, of Acre).[37]

Clermont-Ganneau mentions the tombstone of one Drogo de Bus which he located in the second pier of the portico of the *Bâb al-Silsilah* in 1881.[38] This portico was rebuilt by the Ayyubid period using Frankish *spolia*, possibly from the Frankish *Porta Speciosa* as well as other structures. The inscription reads [*HIC IA*]*CET DROGO DE BUS* . . . (Here lies Drogo of Bus). He also mentions two fragments of a tombstone inscribed + *HIC JACET IOANNES DE LA ROCHELLE, FRATER ADE, DE LA ROCHELLE, CUJUS ANIMA REQUIESCAT IN PACE. AMEN* (Here lies John of La Rochelle, brother of Adam of La Rochelle, may his soul rest in peace).[39] Another fragment recorded by Clermont-Ganneau was too broken to read.[40]

PART III

ART AND THE CRUSADER LEGACY

No study of Crusader Jerusalem would be complete without a discussion, even if a very rudimentary one, of the development of the various arts in the city and of the representations of the city in medieval Christian art.[1] As the centre of Christian pilgrimage and the location of many of the most important religious buildings of the kingdom, it is only natural that Crusader Jerusalem should contain some of the finest examples of sculpture, painting and other works of art and that there should have been various schools and workshops active in the city. Equally, it is consistent with the importance of Jerusalem that its image should be well represented in medieval Christian art. My aim here is twofold: to survey the artistic activity in its various forms that took place in Crusader Jerusalem and to take a look at how the Holy City is represented in the local and Western visual arts.

MEDIEVAL ART IN JERUSALEM

In general, major developments in fine arts occur in the main centres of culture and learning. As long as it was in Frankish hands, Jerusalem was indisputably the most important cultural centre in the Latin East. While, as already noted, Jerusalem and indeed the whole of the Latin East appear to have been fairly impoverished in many aspects of intellectual activity such as literature, philosophy and theology, this was certainly not the case for the plastic arts. Crusader sculpture, monumental painting and manuscript illumination, with their unique synthesis of Byzantine, western European and Levantine styles and iconography, have a place of their own in medieval art and are in no way inferior to comparable developments in European art.[2]

The main patrons of the arts in Jerusalem were the Crusader royalty, though the military orders were probably also important patrons. The patronage of Crusader art has been dealt with by Jaroslav Folda. In his monumental study of the Crusader arts in the twelfth century, he organized the discussion of developments in the fine and minor arts and architecture in chronological order according to the reign of each king.[3] Western royalty and nobility, the Byzantine emperor and the patriarchs of Jerusalem were also major patrons of the arts, but these were on the whole secondary to the local royal patrons.[4] The peak of royal patronage was during the reigns of King Fulk, Queen Melisende and their son Baldwin III (1131–63).[5] In this period the Church of the Holy Sepulchre was largely completed and many of the important works incorporated in it were carried out. It was also at this time that the sculptural workshops in Jerusalem were at their peak of production and the important Jerusalem scriptorium was producing some of its major works.

Sculpture

In twelfth-century Jerusalem the foundations were established for a school of sculpture which owed its artistic origins to various regions in the West, particularly to the twelfth-century sculpture of West-Central France and Southern Italy, but which was beginning to develop in its own right as a unique local school.[6] Much of the very fine sculpture located in the city came from what Zehava Jacoby called the 'Workshop of the Temple Area'.[7] Folda suggests that it was perhaps located at or near the southern

end of the Temple Mount, where the huge building project of the Templars was under way in the 1160s.[8] This establishment produced a large quantity of extremely beautiful sculpture, mostly non-figural ornamental works, many examples of which are still located on and around the Temple Mount. These include panels, lintels, abaci and capitals decorated with foliate designs, notably with acanthus leaves in a style sometimes known as 'wet-leaf acanthus' because the three-dimensional convex forms resemble damp drapery.[9] There are conchoid niches and columns which are frequently interlaced. Numerous examples in secondary use may still be observed in the al-Aqsa Mosque, in the Dome of the Rock, elsewhere on the Temple platform, in the Bâb al-Silsila, and in the various drinking fountains around the Temple Mount. Others are to be found in churches and in various collections (Plates 21.1, 21.2).[10]

As in other branches of Crusader art, the particular style of these works resulted from the fusion of Western, Eastern and local traditions. The high quality of the products of this workshop places them among the finest works being produced in the twelfth century. Thus it is not surprising to find that, as Jacoby pointed out, this is the only known instance of a Crusader workshop pursuing its activities in the West after the loss of the Crusader states, as can be observed in Apulia, Molise and the Abruzzi in southern Italy.[11]

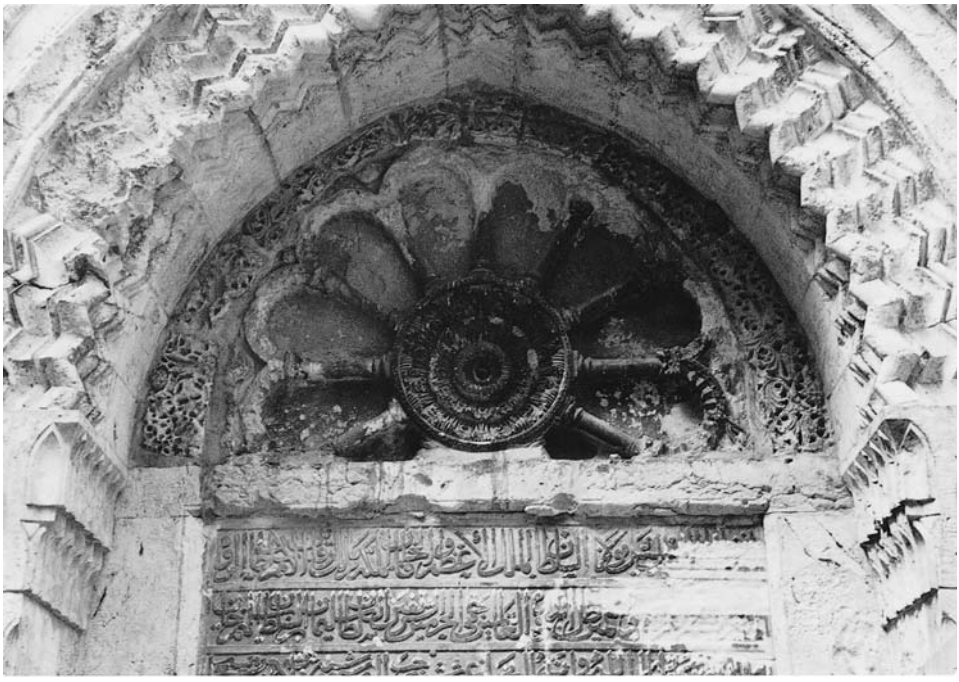


Plate 21.1 Wheel window reused in a Mamluk fountain (photograph by the author).

Plate 21.2 Capital on the façade of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre (photograph by the author).

Monumental wall painting and mosaics

There are few examples of frescoes or wall mosaics in Jerusalem, too few to allow scholars to reach any substantial conclusions as to the development of a local style.

The mosaics and wall paintings of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre must have ranked among the finest Crusader works in these genres, but unfortunately very little of them survives.[12] A fragment of a fresco Crucifixion was discovered in the apse under the Chapel of St Helena.[13] The only surviving mosaic, other than non-figural fragments in the Chapel of the Franks, is the Ascension of Christ in a mandorla located in the central southern bay of the Chapel of Calvary (Plate 21.3).[14]

The project of conversion of the Dome of the Rock into a church involved, among other works, the covering of parts of the walls and dome with frescoes and mosaics. When Saladin reoccupied the building and 'cleansed' it of the Christian additions, these works were removed. Other churches known to have been decorated with mosaics or frescoes, or with both, include the church of the Tomb of the Virgin in the Jehoshaphat Valley where, according to John of Würzburg, there were magnificent coloured paintings,[15] St Mary on Mount Zion, where in the Chapel of the Last Supper there was a mosaic rendering of the Last Supper in the sanctuary and a scene of the Holy Ghost descending on the heads of the apostles in the apse,[16] St Mary Minor, St Anne and St Peter in Gallicantu.

One of the finest examples of Crusader fresco in Jerusalem is a fragmentary representation of an angel found in the excavation of the Church of the Agony in Gethsemane (Plate 21.4). A similar fragment of fresco decorated with the head of an angel from an Annunciation scene was discovered, with various other fragments, in the small Crusader chapel excavated alongside Damascus Gate in the excavations of 1964–5. The most recent addition to this very limited corpus of the art of wall painting in Jerusalem, and one of the most interesting examples, was discovered in emergency excavations in the Kidron Valley in 1999.[17]

Manuscript illumination and the Jerusalem Scriptorium

Works are known to survive from two scriptoria active in the Kingdom of Jerusalem, those of Jerusalem and Acre, and have been the subject of much discussion by scholars.[18] The scriptorium of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem was possibly established as early as the second quarter of the twelfth century. Buchthal suggests that it may have been founded by an English, possibly Benedictine monk who became prior of the Holy Sepulchre before rising to become archbishop of Tyre in 1127.[19] It was no doubt located in the complex of conventual buildings surrounding the Church of the Holy Sepulchre. This scriptorium survived until 1187 and was reactivated in the brief period of Frankish rule in the thirteenth century, between 1229 and 1244.

Of the works produced by the scriptorium only a few survive. The most important of these is known as Queen Melisende's Psalter, a remarkable work which survives together with its silk and ivory binding.[20] The psalter has been identified as belonging to Queen Melisende for a number of reasons.[21] There are calendar entries for her

Plate 21.3 Mosaic from the Chapel of Calvary (photograph by the author).

Plate 21.4 Fresco of an angel from the Church of Gethsemane (courtesy of the Studium Biblicum Franciscanum).

parents, King Baldwin II and Queen Morphia, but for no other ruler, and there is a possible allusion to her husband King Fulk in the depiction on the back cover of a falcon (*fulila*). It may well be that it was a gift from Fulk to Melisende.[22]

The psalter includes a New Testament cycle, apparently the work of a Frankish artist who used typically Western full-page frontispieces and a style and iconography not characteristically Byzantine, although he used Byzantine models and signed the work with a Byzantine name, 'Basilius'. Boase refers to him as 'a westerner who had carefully studied Byzantine art'.[23] A second artist who carried out the eight initials was possibly a Southern Italian from the scriptorium of the Benedictine abbey of Monte Cassino. He had clearly studied Northern European work and was particularly well acquainted with English art.[24] A third artist, less gifted than the other two, painted nine portraits of saints.

Other works that have been identified as originating in this scriptorium are a sacramentary, a missal and three gospels. Like Queen Melisende's Psalter, the sacramentary (now in two parts located in Rome and Cambridge) shows considerable Western influence, notably in the use of 'Franco-Saxon' interlace, though the realistic human anatomy is evidence of a Byzantine model. The artist was probably from Southern Italy, where there was a strong Byzantine tradition.[25] The missal combines both Northern European and Italian elements. The Gospel of St John, like the other works, follows a Byzantine model but appears to be the work of a Latin artist. The other two gospels, one in Paris and the other in the Vatican, date from the later period of Frankish rule in the twelfth century prior to 1187. They are very similar to one another, also following Byzantine models but of comparatively poor workmanship.

Three manuscripts are ascribed to the scriptorium during its brief revival in the thirteenth century. These are the Riccardiana Psalter, the Egerton Sacramentary and the Pontifical of Apamea.[26] The former was described by Buchthal as 'a royal manuscript *de grand luxe*'.[27] It is perhaps the work of a Sicilian artist or one who was trained in Sicily, has Western layout and follows Byzantine iconography, albeit in a less painstaking manner than most twelfth-century works. Buchthal suggests that it may have been commissioned by Frederick II for his English wife, Isabel.[28] The other two manuscripts are inferior products but are perhaps more typical of the work carried out in the scriptorium in the thirteenth century.[29]

Other than producing magnificent ornamental works for royal patrons, the scriptorium of the Holy Sepulchre no doubt fulfilled its main task, that of preparing simple, often undecorated liturgical manuscripts for general use in the cathedral church.

Gold and silver work

La Citez refers to the Syrian and Latin goldsmiths of Jerusalem, who had separate establishments located near the Church of the Holy Sepulchre on the road that led from the markets towards the Church of St Mary Major.[30] The fact that goldsmiths in Jerusalem appear as witnesses to charters is an indication of their status in the city at that early date.[31] Here again we can see the central role played by pilgrimage in the recovery of the city, for these goldsmiths were chiefly employed in the manufacture of reliquaries and other items of religious significance.

A limited number of works can be ascribed to the goldsmiths of Jerusalem. These include silver-gilt reliquary crosses now located at various places in Europe and the mitre-shaped gold and rock-crystal reliquary from the church of St John the Baptist, now in the Greek Orthodox Patriarchate Museum. The double-armed cross (*crux gemina*) used for all the cross reliquaries and found on the reliquary from the church of St John the Baptist was the patriarchal cross of Jerusalem.[32]

The earliest of the reliquary crosses is the True Cross of Denkendorf, now in the Württembergischen Landesmuseum, Stuttgart. Others possibly originating in Jerusalem are the cross reliquary of the Cistercian Monastery in Kaisheim, Kreis Donauwörth, now in the Städtischen Kunstsammlungen, Augsburg; the cross in the church of S Sepolcro, Barletta; the partially preserved cross in the Monastery of Scheyern; and crosses in Agrigento, Santiago de Compostela, St Foy in Conques, the Louvre in Paris and the Cleveland Museum of Art.

The Denkendorf cross was probably made around 1130. It is 23 cm high, made of wood covered with gilded silver. It is decorated with pearls, amethysts and filigree work and has pieces of the rock of Golgotha and a slit to house the relic of the True Cross. On the front the filigree forms rosettes, and on the back are stamped decorations including the *Agnus Dei* and representations of Evangelists in medallions.

The reliquary from the church of St John the Baptist in the Hospitallers' Quarter is a unique work. Folda dates it to the 1150s and suggests that it was possibly associated with the Hospitallers in the crypt of whose church it was found.[33] The rock crystal bordered with jewel-decorated gold bands is hollowed out at the centre and a wooden reliquary within contains on one side relics of the True Cross and on the other eighteen other relics: those of St John the Baptist, St Peter, the eleven other apostles, St Mark, St Lawrence, St Vitus, St Stephen and St Oswald.

JERUSALEM IN MEDIEVAL ART

Medieval cities are frequently represented in various art forms: on maps, coins and seals, on wall paintings and in manuscript illuminations. On coins and seals the city often appears in schematic form as a triangle representing the fortifications, with towers at each of the apexes and a gate at the centre. In such cases there is little to differentiate one city from another. On maps there are sometimes more realistic representations of the city, either from a birds-eye view or at an angle looking towards the east.

Jerusalem on medieval maps

One form of representation, from which we can perhaps learn the most, is the map. Fourteen maps of Frankish Jerusalem are known today.[1] Eleven of these are round maps and the remaining three are more or less quadrangular (Plate 7.3). The most important of the latter is perhaps the mid-twelfth century Cambrai map (Plate 9.1).[2] This is a comparatively realistic representation of the layout of the city and of some of its principal buildings. One of the unique features of this map is that some attempt has been made to show the topography of the city and its surroundings, notably the hills on which the churches of St Mary Magdalene and St Bartholemew stand in the north-east and the Mount of Olives outside the city to the east. Some of the buildings, such as the Church of the Holy Sepulchre and perhaps the Hospitallers' compound, are fairly reliable illustrations. Others are less reliable and some are certainly inventions. The Cambrai map provides us with the only known representations of some of Frankish Jerusalem's most important structures, such as the royal palace and several of the city's churches.

The round map form was perhaps influenced by a medieval cartographic convention found in *mappae mundi* (maps of the world) first appearing in the seventh century and known as T-O maps. T-O maps present the world as a circle divided by a T-shape, the T being formed by the Don and Nile rivers and the Mediterranean Sea. The T divides the world into three land masses: Asia at the top (the convention in pre-compass days being that maps were 'oriented' to the east), Europe on the lower left and Africa on the lower right. In a similar fashion, the cross formed by the two main thoroughfares, the old *Cardo Maximus* and *Decumanis*, divides Jerusalem into four main areas, the Temple Mount forming a fifth division.

Perhaps, however, with the round maps of Jerusalem we should look for an even earlier source than the T-O maps, for these maps are not so much a T within a circle as a cross within a circle. This design may be a reflection of Jerusalem as the City of the Cross where Christ was crucified, but it may also hark back to pre-Christian imagery.[3]

Whatever their source, the round maps of Jerusalem are a unique phenomenon, a fact which signifies the high regard in which the city was held. Despite the initial impression that these maps are naive representations of the city containing little factual data, they are in fact very useful sources of information on the medieval city. The combined information contained in them is considerable. On the Stuttgart map, twenty-three different sites are mentioned within the walls, another sixteen outside the walls but in the immediate area of the city and another seven more distant sites. The items depicted in and around Jerusalem include topographical features outside the walls (Montjoie, the Mount of Olives and Mount Zion), the fortifications, the main thoroughfares leading to, from and within the city, the citadel, a royal house, a public square and market, the exchange, the principal churches, hermits' caves, pilgrimage sites, the hospital, hospices, stylized representation of private houses and water sources.

Buildings of Jerusalem represented on coins, seals, ampullae and manuscript illumination

Representations of the important buildings in Jerusalem appear on some of the coins (Plate 22.1) and seals of the Kingdom of Jerusalem and on ampullae (pilgrims' holy water or oil flasks) that were manufactured in the kingdom. These representations are not always accurate but give us an idea of how the buildings appeared, at least to medieval eyes. The representations are inevitably of the three most important buildings in the city: the *Templum Domini*, *Turris David* and the *Sepulcrum Domini*. The Tomb of Christ appears on various versions of the seal of the Knights of the Hospital of St John.[4] On the seal of the Templars the *Templum Domini* is shown. On the royal seals the three monuments of the city are represented; the *Turris David* is shown flanked

Plate 22.1 Representation of the Rotunda of the Holy Sepulchre on a billon denier of Amaury I (1163–74) (courtesy of the Israel Antiquities Authority).

by the Church of the Holy Sepulchre and the *Templum Domini*.[5] On silver and copper coins representations of the *Turris David* and of the Rotunda of the Holy Sepulchre appear. Lead ampullae, many of which were probably manufactured in Jerusalem, are occasionally decorated with a representation of the Holy Sepulchre.[6]

On some illuminations in Crusader manuscripts there are renditions of buildings in Jerusalem. In the Riccardiana Psalter there is a representation of the *Templum Domini* (fol. 49v) which is not unlike that which appears on the Templars' seal. The Sepulchre of Christ appears in the same psalter (MS 323, fol. 90v).

CONCLUSION

Because of its long and turbulent history and the important place it holds in the hearts of the three great monotheistic religions, it is easy to forget that Jerusalem is a city like any other, in which people go about their lives just as they do in other cities. This was as true in the volatile atmosphere of the twelfth century as it is today. Consequently, if we wish to observe Crusader Jerusalem we should not limit our conception of the city to that of a fortified bastion in a hostile sea of enemies.

The overwhelming Crusader victory of 1099 and the massacre that followed left the defeated Muslims in a state of shock from which they began to recover only three decades later. By that time the Crusaders had begun to revive the city and consolidated their hold on the kingdom, and the threat to Jerusalem, while it had not altogether disappeared, was less immediate. For most of the first 88 years of Crusader rule the city enjoyed comparative stability and remarkable growth and development. With increased security on the roads, pilgrimage flourished, and with it came a growth in the population, the rebuilding of churches, an increase in commerce and the establishment of schools and workshops of artists and artisans. New public institutions were built in the city; covered markets, money exchanges, hospitals, bathhouses, water and sewage installations. For nearly nine decades in the twelfth century and about a decade in the thirteenth, Frankish guards manned the walls and towers, priests conducted services in the churches, shopkeepers sold their wares in the markets, children and dogs ran about the streets.

I have attempted in this book to convey an idea of what the city of Jerusalem was like under Frankish rule. While I have touched upon historical and social aspects of Crusader Jerusalem, my emphasis has been on the physical elements of the city, based on the remarkably rich archaeological evidence and the survival of many of the public buildings of the Crusader period. Although Jerusalem is the best known of Crusader cities, the picture presented here still has many gaps. Some of them are the inevitable consequence of trying to squeeze a large subject into a small book, but many more of them are the result of the unevenness of the information in the archaeological and written sources. Thus, whereas I have discussed certain aspects of commerce and the economy of the city such as the markets, the exchanges and the mint, the references to the latter two institutions are minimal and I have not discussed tax collecting, the royal treasury, the keeping of commercial records, the cost of food and other goods, or the

cost of housing (there is no detailed documentation on the price of purchase or rental of properties such as exist for thirteenth-century Acre and Tyre).[1] I have noted the almost complete lack of examples of private housing and have been able to present only a very brief discussion of sanitation. While I have noted the existence of bathhouses and taverns, there is no discussion of other forms of recreation which must surely have existed. We know about the religious processions, but were there carnivals and fairs in Crusader Jerusalem? The sources are silent on these matters. We know virtually nothing of educational institutions and very little about the condition of different elements of society (women, the elderly, the poor).

Despite these shortcomings, today we have a fairly good idea of many different aspects of the Crusader city. Excavations carried out along the city's perimeter, particularly in the 1970s, enable us to reconstruct the medieval defences and the twelfth-century citadel with a fair degree of confidence. Many of the important buildings, notably the churches and markets, have survived and are still in use, and a number of surveys of these structures have been published. As for the lesser-known components of Crusader Jerusalem, it is fortunately in the nature of historical and archaeological research that the volume of information is constantly expanding.

NOTES

Names of primary sources appearing in the Notes (collected by chapter on pages 204–51) are given in the Sources and Bibliography, pp. 252–64.

INTRODUCTION

1 However, see p. 13, n. 34.
2 Below, Part Two, Chapter 12, pp. 102–33.
3 See M.L. de Mas Latrie, *Chronique d'Ernoul et de Bernard le Trésorier*, Paris 1871, pp. 190–210. The text is also published in Charles Warren and Claude Reignier Conder, *Survey of Western Palestine*, 1884, pp. 60–6 and appears in English translation by Claude Reignier Conder, *PPTS* vol. 6, 1896. References here are according to the 1871 publication and are referred to hereafter as *La Citez*. This tract has recently been republished in Janet Shirley, *Crusader Syria in the Thirteenth Century. The Rothelin Continuation of the History of William of Tyre with part of the Eracles or Acre text*, Aldershot, Hampshire 1999, pp. 13–29.

CHAPTER 1: THE PHYSICAL SETTING

1 See below, Part Two, Chapter 18, pp. 171–7.
2 Today an even harder type of limestone, *Mizzi Yahudi*, which comes from a lower level, is a particularly popular building stone.
3 The present walls of Jerusalem, dating from the sixteenth century, are constructed of stones from many different periods. The popularity of *Meleke* with Frankish masons can be seen by the fact that the frequent appearances of this white stone in secondary use in the city walls almost always have the distinctive diagonal tooling and masons' marks that distinguish Frankish masonry.
4 Arculf, p. 34.
5 In the mid-eleventh century Nasir-i Khosraw wrote of the presence of fig and olive trees in the vicinity of the city but he does not mention trees that could supply timber for siege machinery and indeed states: 'Near the city there are no trees, since it is built on the rock'. Nasir-i Khosraw, Book of Travels (Safarnâma), transl. W.M.Thackston, Jr., New York 1986, pp. 21–2.

6 William of Tyre, 8.8. (All references to William of Tyre are to the Latin text edited by Huygens *et al*., except where the translation by Babcock and Krey is specifically mentioned.) Fulcher of Chartres mentions that the region was 'devoid of trees'. Fulcher of Chartres, I.26.
7 William of Tyre describes the cutting down of trees six or seven miles distant from the city to make *mangons*, *petraries* and battering rams, 'although these were not entirely suitable for the purpose', and he notes the intensive efforts of the Franks to gather twigs in order to make wickerwork coverings for the siege machines. William of Tyre, 8.6.
8 Theodericus, 3, p. 146.
9 Felix Fabri, vol. 2, p. 111.
10 Several studies of rural administration and the rural settlement activity of the Franks in the region of Jerusalem have been published in recent years. Amongst these are: B. Bagatti, *Emmaus-Qubeibeh*, English transl. R. Bonanno, Jerusalem 1993; Adrian J. Boas, 'A Recently Discovered Frankish Village at Ramot Allon, Jerusalem', in M. Balard (ed.), *Autour de la Première Croisade. Actes du Colloque de la Society for the Study of the Crusades and the Latin East (Clermont-Ferrand, 22–25 juin 1995)*, Paris 1996, pp. 583–94; Ronnie Ellenblum, *Frankish Rural Settlement in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem*, Cambridge 1998; Denys Pringle, 'Magna Mahumeria (al-Birâ): The Archaeology of a Frankish New Town in Palestine', in P. Edbury (ed.), *Crusade and Settlement. Papers Read at the First Conference of the Society for the Study of the Crusades and the Latin East and Presented to R.C. Smail*, Cardiff 1985, pp. 147–68; Denys Pringle, 'Two Medieval Villages North of Jerusalem: Archaeological Investigations in al-Jib and ar-Ram', *Levant* 15, 1983, pp. 141–77; Denys Pringle, 'Aqua Bella: The Interpretation of a Crusader Courtyard Building' in B.Z. Kedar (ed.), *The Horns of Hattin*, Jerusalem 1992, pp. 147–67.
11 Excavations in the villages of al-Qubaiba and al-Kurûm (see previous note under Bagatti and under Boas), which were probably possessions of the canons of Church of the Holy Sepulchre, uncovered wine and oil installations.

CHAPTER 2: BACKGROUND TO THE CRUSADER PERIOD

1 With regard to the precise date of the Muslim conquest of Jerusalem see Moshe Gil, *A History of Palestine (634–1099)*, Cambridge 1992, p. 51, n. 54.
2 While he does not give the number of permanent residents, the Persian traveller, Nasir-i Khosraw, who visited the city in 1047, records that the population could swell at pilgrimage time by more than twenty thousand Muslim pilgrims. Nasir-i Khosraw 1986, p. 21.
3 Regarding the Christian communities Joshua Prawer wrote that, '. . . on the eve of the Crusades, Jerusalem displayed a most heterogeneous range of Christian creeds and denominations. There was hardly any other place under the sun where so many sects and so many divisions existed as in the Holy City in the Holy Land'. Joshua Prawer, 'The Armenians in Jerusalem Under the Crusaders', in Michael E. Stone (ed.), *Armenian and Biblical Studies*, Jerusalem 1976, p. 222.
4 Al-Muqaddasi (c. 985) wrote: 'Everywhere the Christians and the Jews have the upper hand; and the mosque is void of either congregation or assembly of learned men.' Al-Muqaddasi, p. 37.
5 After referring to the Muslim pilgrims, Nasir-i Khosraw writes: 'From the Byzantine realm and other places too come Christians and Jews to visit the churches and synagogues located there.' Nasir-i Khosraw, p. 21.

6 Nasir-i Khosraw, pp. 21–2.
7 Mustafa A. Hiyari, 'Crusader Jerusalem', in *Jerusalem in History*, ed. Kamil J. Asali, London 1997, pp. 130–1. The Turks founded two Sunni schools for Shâfi'ites and Hanafites, a number of prominent scholars resided in Jerusalem and interreligious dialogues were held between Muslims, Christians and Jews.
8 Regarding the need for major repairs, Ibn al-Athîr described the Fatimid siege of Seljuk Jerusalem in 1098 as having broken down the walls in several places; Francesco Gabrieli, *Arab Historians of the Crusades*, transl. E.J. Costello, London 1969, p. 10.
9 There was good reason to doubt the loyalty of the Christians, who had suffered greatly at the hands of their Muslim compatriots. Despite this, part of the local Christian population must have remained in Jerusalem. William of Tyre mentions that women, children and the elderly were allowed to remain in the city; William of Tyre, 7.23.
10 There are numerous discussions of the First Crusade. See for example Jonathan Riley-Smith, *The First Crusade and the Idea of Crusading*, London 1986; John France, *Victory in the East. A Military History of the First Crusade*, Cambridge 1996.
11 William of Tyre, 8.5. Raymond of Aguilers gives 1,200–1,300 knights and 12,000 foot-soldiers; Raymond of Aguilers, p. 138.
12 William of Tyre, 8.5.
13 William of Tyre, 8.5.
14 Albert of Aachen, pp. 463–4. This version was used by Prawer; Joshua Prawer, 'The Jerusalem the Crusaders Captured: a Contribution to the Medieval Topography of the City', in *Crusade and Settlement. Papers Read at the First Conference of the Society for the Study of the Crusades and the Latin East*, ed. Peter W. Edbury, Cardiff 1985, pp. 1–16. John France suggests that Albert of Aachen may have confused the Tower of David with the Quadrangular Tower; John France, *Victory in the East. A Military History of the First Crusade*, Cambridge 1996, p. 343. France follows the description of Ralph of Caen, which places Robert of Normandy and Robert of Flanders opposite Damascus Gate, Tancred to their right and Godfrey on the north-west.
15 Edward Peters (ed.), *The First Crusade. The Chronicle of Fulcher of Chartres and Other Source Materials*, Philadelphia 1998, p. 87.
16 Fulcher of Chartres, I.27.2.
17 *Gesta Francorum*, p. 88.
18 Fulcher of Chartres, I. 27.5.
19 Albert of Aachen, pp. 467–8.
20 William of Tyre, 8.6.
21 Ralph of Caen, p. 689.
22 William of Tyre, 8.9. This resulted in the capture of Jerusalem being one of the few instances in which ships played a prominent role in the capture of an inland city.
23 *Gesta Francorum*, p. 90.
24 *Gesta Francorum*, p. 91.
25 William of Tyre, 8.18.
26 Albert of Aachen, pp. 482–3.
27 Quoted from F. Peters, *First Crusade*, p. 260.
28 *Gesta Francorum*, p. 92.
29 Quoted from F. Peters, *First Crusade*, p. 260.
30 Fulcher of Chartres, I.33.19.
31 Gabrieli 1969, p. 11.
32 Joshua Prawer estimated that there were perhaps as many as 30,000 inhabitants prior to the Crusade; *Crusader Institutions*, Oxford 1980, p. 88. Benvenisti gives 20,000 and estimates that this number doubled as the Frankish army approached and the residents of

neighbouring towns and villages fled to the city for protection; Meron Benvenisti, *The Crusaders in the Holy Land*, Jerusalem 1970, p. 35.

33 Fulcher of Chartres, I.27.13; William of Tyre, 8.20.

34 These remarks were made at the fifth conference of the Society for the Study of the Crusades and the Latin East, held near Jerusalem in 1999 and will be published in a forthcoming journal, *Crusades*.

35 Other than members of the clergy who had accompanied the Crusade, there were few among the Franks who wished to remain in the city. An estimated 40–60,000 members of the Crusade arrived at Jerusalem on 7 June 1099, but only 10,000 took part in the Battle of Ascalon two months later, and in subsequent battles the Franks could only muster about 1,000 combatants. Most of the Crusaders appear to have returned to the West fairly soon after the capture of Jerusalem.

36 William of Tyre, 11.27.

37 William of Tyre, 9.19.

38 William of Tyre, 11.27.

39 William of Tyre, 9.19.

40 Bresc-Bautier, no. 27. William of Tyre wrote of this: 'Moreover, to the Syrians, Greeks, Armenians and all men of whatever nation, even to the Saracens, he gave the free privilege of carrying into the Holy City without tax wheat, barley and any kind of pulse'; William of Tyre, 12.15.

41 From this edict we also learn that even at this early date (1120) Muslim merchants were permitted to enter the city: 'Let them have free licence to go in and out and sell without molestation where and to whom they wish, whether they are Christians or Muslims'; Bresc-Bautier, no. 27.

42 Albert of Aachen, p. 712.

43 Joshua Prawer, *The Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem. European Colonialism in the Middle Ages*, London 1972, p. 262. Although this relates to the thirteenth century, we can assume that in the twelfth century a good deal of their money was already reaching Jerusalem.

44 The remarkable, half-completed defences of *Montjoie* have recently been exposed in excavations. It would appear that the monks were in the process of excavating the moat. Huge blocks of stone remain in the moat as evidence of the fact that they were not able to complete the work.

45 Estimates of the population at this time vary between 60,000 and 100,000; Hiyari, 'Crusader Jerusalem', n. 115. However, it is important to point out that such estimates should only be regarded as very general indications of the actual numbers.

46 Maria Comnena was the widow of King Amaury and consequently the status of Balian in the city was considerable.

47 Malcolm Cameron Lyons and D.E.P. Jackson, *Saladin. The Politics of Holy War*, Cambridge 1997, p. 273; Ibn al-Athîr in Gabrieli, *Arab Historians*, p. 142.

48 De Mas Latrie, p. 175. This is possibly an exaggeration in the opposite direction, in an attempt to excuse the Franks dismal failure in defending the city.

49 Parallels can be drawn between this and similar moves taken to defend the besieged cities in more recent times.

50 Joshua Prawer, *Histoire du royaume latin de Jérusalem*, vol. 1, Paris 1969, p. 673, n. 60, followed by C. Sabine, who suggests that a certain group of billon (low-grade silver) deniers may have been the coins struck at this time using the silver from the dome; C.J. Sabine, 'Numismatic Iconography of the Tower of David and the Holy Sepulchre. An Emergency Coinage Struck During the Siege of Jerusalem, 1187', *Numismatic Chronicle* 19, 1979, pp. 122–32. They have on their obverse an illustration of the Tower of David surrounded by the legend '*TURRIS DAVIT*' and on the reverse an illustration of the

tomb of Christ and the legend '*SEPULCHRUM DOMINI*'. As it was Balian and not a Crusader king who seems to have minted these coins, no king's name appears on them.

51 Lyons and Jackson, *Saladin*, p. 273.

52 According to some accounts this was a section overlooking the Kidron Valley; R.L. Nicholson, *Joscelyn III and the Fall of the Crusader States 1134–1199*, Leiden 1973, p. 171, n. 346. However, elsewhere ('Itinerarium Peregrinorum et Gesta Regis Ricardi', ed. W. Stubbs in *Chronicles and Memorials of the Reign of Richard I*, *RS* 38; London 1864, i, 21), we find that the part of the wall that collapsed was that on which stood the cross marking the place where Godfrey crossed the wall in 1099.

53 Even if only a part of this ransom was paid the final sum would have been considerable, perhaps not very far from Saladin's original demands.

54 Jean Richard estimates the number of Franks freed without payment by Saladin at 10,000; three or four thousand having paid the ransom and another 8,000 having been redeemed collectively. Eleven to sixteen thousand were enslaved; Jean Richard, *The Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem*, vol. IIa, transl. Janet Shirley, Amsterdam, New York, Oxford 1979, p. 179. Much of the sum for the ransom came, albeit reluctantly, from the coffers of the Hospitallers and Templars.

55 Gabrieli, *Arab Historians*, p. 163.

56 Jean Richard, *The Crusades c. 1071–c. 1291*, transl. Jean Birrell, London 1999, p. 211.

57 Yehoshu'a Frenkel, 'Islamic Religious Endowments in Cairo and Jerusalem', *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 62, part I, 1999, p. 5, n. 33.

58 Max van Berchem, *Matériaux pour un Corpus Inscriptionum Arabicarum: II, Syrie du Sud, vol. 1: Jérusalem ville*, Cairo 1922, p. 90 ff., n. 35.

59 Jonathan Riley-Smith, *The Knights of St John in Jerusalem and Cyprus 1050–1310*, vol. 1, London 1967, p. 109, n. 1. This probably refers to the pre-Crusader church of St John the Baptist, which was located south of the hospital and which is the only one of the three Hospitaller churches to survive more or less intact. It is uncertain whether this trefoil-plan church had a spire; while none survives there is what appears to be the solid base of a belfry on the southern side of the church. Also, it should be noted that each of the three churches shown on the Cambrai map has a belfry.

60 Lyons and Jackson, *Saladin*, p. 346.

61 *Histoire de Jérusalem et d'Hebron. Fragments of the Chronicle of Mujîr al-Dîn*, translated from Arabic by Henry Sauvaire, Paris 1876, pp. 80–1. No doubt this was work aimed at clearing and perhaps deepening the moat along the northern walls. Why it was necessary to bring masons from Mosul for such a task is not clear. Possibly they were brought for the construction of the walls, which required more skill than excavating a ditch.

62 This wall can be seen on the fourteenth-century maps that appeared in the works of Marino Sanudo and Burchard of Mount Zion. See Milka Levy, 'Medieval Maps of Jerusalem', in Joshua Prawer and Haggai Ben-Shammai (eds), *The History of Jerusalem. Crusaders and Ayyubids (1099–1250)*, Jerusalem 1991, pp. 484, 488.

63 The new wall can be seen on the fourteenth-century map of Marino Sanudo.

64 The terms of the treaty stipulated that Christian pilgrims could visit the Holy Sepulchre 'without the exaction of any charge'; F.E. Peters, *Jerusalem*, Princeton 1985, p. 360.

65 *La Citez*, p. 200.

66 Donald P. Little, 'Jerusalem under the Ayyubids and Mamluks 1187–1516 AD', in K. Asali (ed.), *Jerusalem in History*, 1997, London p. 182.

67 S. de Sandoli, *Itinera Hierosolymitana Crucesignatorum (saec. XII–XIII)*, vol. 3, *Tempore recuperationes Terrae Sanctae (1187–1244)*, Jerusalem 1983, p. 156.

68 Shirley, *Crusader Syria*, p. 13.

69 Hiyari, 'Crusader Jerusalem', p. 169.

70 Gabrieli, *Arab Historians*, p. 271.
71 The Franks could still enter the Temple Mount for prayers but had to show proper respect for the holy places. Despite the remarkable achievement of Frederick II in regaining the Holy City without bloodshed, the treaty contained within it the seeds of its inevitable failure and of future loss of the city. This was primarily the clause excluding the return of the Templars to their property on the Temple Mount. This resulted in increasing the alienation of the Templars from Frederick and thus their refusal to help in his proposed aim of restoring the defences of the city.
72 Ibn Wâsil (Fo. 253 r–v 120r–121r) in F. Gabrieli, *Arab Historians*, p. 269.
73 The *Rothelin Continuation* complains bitterly that Frederick did not rebuild the churches and holy places or strengthen the city (Shirley, *Crusader Syria*, p. 37). It ignores the opposition he faced, the outright refusal of the clergy and Templars to cooperate with him and the fact that he was in Jerusalem for only three days.
74 The chapel of the Last Supper (*Coenaculum*) on Mount Zion may also have been constructed at this time in the south-east corner of St Mary on Mount Zion. Regarding the possible date of the chapel see pp. 112–13. As to the other buildings, Michael Burgoyne has suggested a thirteenth-century Frankish date (1229–44) for the western half of the Cotton Market; Michael Hamilton Burgoyne, *Mamluk Jerusalem*, London 1987, p. 273. Hillel Geva and Danny Bahat have shown that the principal phase of construction of the bastion of St Stephen's Gate should be attributed to Frederick II (1229); Hillel Geva and Dan Bahat, 'Architectural and Chronological Aspects of the Ancient Damascus Gate Area', *IEJ* 48 (3–4), 1998, p. 235. Regarding the covered market street on the *Cardo*, see p. 152.
75 Steven Runciman, *A History of the Crusades*, vol. 3, *The Kingdom of Acre*, Cambridge 1954, p. 215.
76 Shirley, *Crusader Syria*, p. 40. That al-Nâsir al-Da'ûd did not completely dismantle the tower is clear from the fact that the solid Herodian podium survives intact. What he removed was the medieval superstructure.
77 See Shirley, *Crusader Syria*, p. 64. According to Eracles (Acre *Continuation* of William of Tyre), more than 30,000 men, women and children were killed; ibid., p. 132.

CHAPTER 3: ADMINISTRATION

1 Baldwin de Burg (Baldwin II) was elected to the throne by a council of clergy and nobles, but he was also Baldwin I's nephew and, according to Albert of Aachen, one of the king's choices as heir. On his deathbed in 1131, Baldwin II, without consulting the Church leaders or nobles, passed the kingdom and government not only to Fulk of Anjou, who was the barons' choice as his successor and to whom he had promised the crown, but also to Fulk's wife, Baldwin's eldest daughter Melisende, and to their infant son, Baldwin. The coronation took place after the king's death, without an election having taken place. On Fulk's death in 1143 Melisende, who had ruled jointly with the king, was crowned together with her eldest son Baldwin. Thus, the monarchy had dropped its elective façade and become an openly hereditary one and, with a few exceptions, subsequently remained so.
2 For a detailed description of this establishment see what is still one of the best discussions of the institution of monarchy in the Kingdom of Jerusalem; John L. La Monte, *Feudal Monarchy in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem 1100 to 1291*, Cambridge, MA, 1932, pp. 87–104.
3 Joshua Prawer, 'Administration of Crusader Jerusalem', in Prawer and Ben-Shammai, *History of Jerusalem*, Jerusalem 1991, p. 152 (Hebrew).

4 Jonathan Riley-Smith, *The Feudal Nobility and the Kingdom of Jerusalem 1174–1277*, London and Basingstoke 1973, p. 91.
5 William of Tyre, 22.23.
6 Riley-Smith, *Feudal Nobility*, p. 85.
7 See *Recueil Lois* II, pp. 243–4, translated in Peters, *Jerusalem*, pp. 301–2.
8 E.H. Kausler (ed.), *Les Livres des Assises et des Usages dou Reaume de Jérusalem*, vol. 1, Stuttgart 1839, p. 312, no. 257. Amongst the sergeants were *placiers* or *placearii*, who seem to have functioned as policemen or district supervisors within the city; Riley-Smith 1973, p. 87.
9 Riley-Smith, *Feudal Nobility*, p. 87.
10 Ibid., p. 90.
11 Ibid., p. 89.
12 Ibid., p. 90. *Rays* (*rais*) are recorded in documents of the twelfth century in Jerusalem; *Chartes de l'abbaye de Notre-Dame de la vallée de Josaphat en Terre Sainte (1108–1291). Analyse et extraits*, *ROL* 7, ed. C. Kohler, 1889, no. 10; Bresc-Bautier, nos 95, 111. On the court in Jerusalem see Bresc-Bautier, no. 68.
13 La Monte, *Feudal Monarchy*, pp. 109–10.
14 Joshua Prawer, 'The Settlement of the Latins in Jerusalem', *Speculum* 27, 1952, p. 500 [repr. in Prawer, *Crusader Institutions*]; Prawer, *Latin Kingdom*, p. 121.
15 *Regesta*, no. 269.
16 For a detailed discussion of these various positions see La Monte, *Feudal Monarchy*, p. 114–37.
17 Ibid., p. 167.
18 The latter two are recorded in *Regesta*, no. 110.
19 According to J. Riley-Smith, the box 'could be opened only in the presence of the king or his lieutenant and two vassals, the patriarch or the Prior of the Holy Sepulchre and two of the canons of the Holy Sepulchre and the Viscount of Jerusalem and two jurors of his *Cour des Bourgeois*'; Riley-Smith, *Feudal Nobility*, p. 133.
20 Arnulf was apparently unpopular among the clergy from the beginning. Raymond d'Aguilers wrote that he was 'elected by some as patriarch contrary to the wishes of the good clergymen who objected on the grounds that he was not a subdeacon and was of priestly origin'; *Raymond d'Aguilers*, ed. and transl. John H. Hill and Laurita L. Hill, Paris 1969, p. 131.
21 Prawer, *Crusader Institutions*, pp. 296–7.
22 More limited patriarchal claims resurfaced later. In 1128 patriarch Stephen of Chartres demanded that Baldwin II cede him a fourth of Jaffa and the whole of Jerusalem; William of Tyre, 13.25.
23 Hans Eberhard Mayer, 'Latins, Muslims and Greeks in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem', *History* 63, 1978 (repr. in Hans Eberhard Mayer, *Probleme des lateinischen Königreichs Jerusalem*, London 1983, p. 188).
24 *Regesta*, no. 431.
25 Jean Richard, 'The Political and Ecclesiastical Organization of the Crusader States: D. The Establishment of the Latin Church', in K.M. Setton (ed.), *History of the Crusades*, vol. 5, Madison, WI, 1985, p. 237.
26 Mayer, 'Latins, Muslims and Greeks', p. 191.
27 B.Z. Kedar 'The Patriarch Eraclius' in B.Z. Kedar, H.E. Mayer and R.C. Smail (eds), *Outremer. Studies in the History of the Crusading Kingdom of Jerusalem presented to Joshua Prawer*, Jerusalem 1982 (repr. in B.Z. Kedar *The Franks in the Levant, 11th to 14th Centuries*, London 1993, p. 182).
28 Riley-Smith, *Feudal Nobility*, p. 105. For other references to his character see B. Kedar (*Franks in the Levant*, pp. 177–8) who shows this patriarch in a somewhat better light.

29 Bresc-Bautier, no. 24; *Regesta*, no. 74; *Add*., no. 74.
30 Denys Pringle, 'Crusader Jerusalem' *BAIAS* 1990–91, p. 110; Bresc-Bautier, no. 111.
31 The reason for this, according to William of Tyre, was an attempt of Arnulf to distract attention from his own 'unchaste life' by carrying out reforms. William had absolutely no sympathy for Arnulf; William of Tyre, 11.15.
32 There were Benedictine monasteries in the Holy Land from the time of Gregory the Great. After the Persian invasion of 614 the order revived and Charlemagne endowed at least three monasteries in Jerusalem – St Mary the Latin, the abbey on Mount Zion and the nunnery of the Holy Sepulchre. Possibly they also held the abbey at Akeldama.
33 Prawer, *Latin Kingdom*, p. 252.
34 This Gerard was of uncertain origin. He is sometimes known as Gerard of Martigues, Gerard Tenque, or simply as Blessed Gerard and it may have been his remains, known as those of a '*beatus Gerardus*', that were kept in a silver gilt reliquary covered with precious stones in the Hospitallers' chapel at Manosque by 1283. See E.J. King, *The Rule, Statutes and Customs of the Hospitallers 1099–1310*, London 1934, p. 1; Gerard A. Lee, *Leper Hospitals in Medieval Ireland with a Short Account of the Military and Hospitaller Order of St Lazarus of Jerusalem*, Dublin and Portland, OR, 1996, p. 65; Anthony Luttrell, 'The Hospitallers' Early Written Records', in John France and William G. Zajac (eds), *The Crusades and their Sources. Essays Presented to Bernard Hamilton*, Aldershot, Hampshire and Brookfield, VT 1998, p. 138; Anthony Luttrell, 'The Earliest Hospitallers', in Benjamin Z. Kedar, Jonathan Riley-Smith and Rudolf Hiestand (eds) *Montjoie. Studies in Crusade History in Honour of Hans Eberhard Mayer*, Aldershot, Hampshire 1997, p. 39, n. 14.
35 *Cart. Gén*., nos 154, 155. This was a measure taken against the Germans after the Hospitallers brought charges against them for causing dissension and scandals.
36 On the Patriarch's Quarter see pp. 83–5.
37 William of Tyre, 18.2.
38 William of Tyre, 18.3.
39 Jacques de Vitry, p. 49.
40 John of Würzburg, p. 135. John of Würzburg also noted the Templars' reputation for 'treachery', which was perhaps in part responsible for their downfall in the fourteenth century.
41 William of Tyre (12.7) appears to give 1118 as the date of the formation of the Templars, but 1119–20 is probably more accurate. See Malcolm Barber, *The New Knighthood: A History of the Order of the Temple*, Cambridge 1995, pp. xxi and 8–9.
42 *The Rule of the Temple*, transl. J.M. Upton-Ward, Woodbridge 1992, p. 179.
43 On the Templar castles along these routes see Denys Pringle, 'Templar Castles on the Road to the Jordan', in Malcolm Barber (ed.), *The Military Orders, vol. 1, Fighting for the Faith and Caring for the Sick*, Aldershot, Hampshire 1994, pp. 148–66; Denys Pringle, 'Templar Castles Between Jaffa and Jerusalem', in Helen Nicholson (ed.), *The Military Orders,* vol. 2, *Welfare and Warfare*, Aldershot, Hampshire 1998, pp. 89–109.
44 For a brief account see G. Lee, *Leper Hospitals*, pp. 65–72. Lazarus, the beggar covered with sores (Luke 16:19), was the patron saint of the hospital. He eventually came to be erroneously identified with Lazarus of Bethany.
45 Ibid., pp. 19, 66.
46 Celestina Milani (ed.) *Itinerarium Antonini Placentini, Un viaggio in Terra Santa del 560–570 d.C.*, Milan 1977, pp. 166–7, English transl.; John Wilkinson, *Jerusalem Pilgrims before the Crusades*, Jerusalem 1977, p. 84.
47 Wilkinson, *Pilgrims before the Crusades*, p. 137.
48 Lee, *Leper Hospitals*, p. 65.

49 Arthur de Marsy (ed.) 'Fragment d'un Cartulaire de l'Ordre de Saint Lazare, en Terre Sainte', *AOL*, vol. 2, Paris 1884 (reprint. New York 1978), no. III.
50 de Marsy, 'Fragment', no. VII, p. 128.
51 John Wilkinson (ed.), *Jerusalem Pilgrimage 1099–1185* (Hakluyt Society, vol. 167), London 1988, p. 143 and pp. 12–15.
52 Malcolm Barber, 'The Order of Saint Lazarus and the Crusades', *CHR* 80, 1994, p. 327ff.
53 de Marsy, 'Fragment', nos II, III, pp. 123–5. The Red Cistern is the small Templar fortress of Malduim.
54 True leprosy is caused by *Mycobacterium leprae*, a bacterium related to that which causes tuberculosis. Of the five identified variants of leprosy, lepromatous leprosy is the type which causes extreme disfiguration and is most often associated with this disease. But in the Middle Ages a number of unrelated skin ailments were included under the category.
55 Upton-Ward, *Rule of the Temple*, p. 118, nos 443–4.

CHAPTER 4: EVENTS IN THE LIFE OF THE CITY

1 Pilgrims came not only from the West but from Christian communities in neighbouring lands. A later source, al-Maqrizi, records that large numbers of Christians came from Egypt; (Itti'az II 74–5, quoted in M. Hiyari, 'Crusader Jerusalem', p. 164, n. 88).
2 Prawer, *Latin Kingdom*, p. 178.
3 Theodericus, 8, p. 152.
4 An interesting Muslim description of the secret behind the miracle of the Holy Fire is given by Ibn al-Qalanisi, who describes the use of a hidden, oiled metal filament running between the lamps which is secretly ignited by one of the clergy and along which the fire runs, setting alight the highly combustible mixture of balsam and jasmine oil in the lamps; F.E. Peters, *The Distant Shrine. The Islamic Centuries in Jerusalem*, New York 1993, pp. 94–5.
5 According to Daniel, on Saturday, at about the seventh hour, Baldwin with his suite came on foot to the Holy Sepulchre. Here the king stood to the right of the tomb entrance, near the railing of the high altar. At the end of the ninth hour 'the Holy Light suddenly illuminated the Holy Sepulchre with an awe-aspiring and splendid brightness. The bishop who was followed by four deacons, then opened the doors of the Tomb, and entered with the taper of Prince Baldwin so as to light it first at the Holy Light; he afterwards returned it to the Prince, who resumed his place, holding, with great joy, the taper in his hands'; Daniel, pp. 76–8.
6 William of Tyre, 8.24.
7 Amnon Linder, 'The Liturgy of the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem', in *Knights of the Holy Land. The Crusader Kingdom of Jerusalem*, ed. Silvia Rozenberg, Jerusalem 1999, pp. 97–8.
8 The cross can be seen on the Cambrai map; Levy, 'Medieval Maps of Jerusalem', p. 426.
9 John of Würzburg, p. 124.
10 Jaroslav Folda, *The Art of the Crusaders in the Holy Land 1098–1187*, Cambridge 1995, p. 229 and n. 107.
11 John of Würzburg 1890, p. 40. This event may in fact have been commemorated not on 19 but on 18 July, the day of his death. Between the commemoration of the conquest of 1099 and the memorial of Godfrey came the perhaps more sombre memorial day for those who died during the conquest.
12 William of Tyre records the pre-coronation ceremonies that took place in Jerusalem in 1118. On the Day of the Holy Resurrection, Baldwin of Le Bourcq was 'solemnly

anointed and consecrated according to custom', during which 'the royal insignia of the diadem were bestowed upon him' by Patriarch, Arnulf (William of Tyre, 12.3). Later, on Christmas Day 1120, Baldwin was crowned with his wife in Bethlehem (William of Tyre, 12.12). Although the coronation once again took place in Bethlehem, the consecration in Jerusalem was a significant departure. After all, as Hans E. Mayer points out, it was not the coronation that made a king, but the anointing and consecration; Hans E. Mayer, *Kings and Lords in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem*, Ashgate 1994, p. 540.

13 Fulk of Anjou was crowned on 14 September 1131, Melisende and Baldwin III on 25 December 1143, Amaury on 18 February 1163, Baldwin IV on 15 July 1174 and Baldwin V on 20 November 1183.

14 Jonathan Riley-Smith, *The Knights of St John in Jerusalem and Cyprus, c. 1050–1310*, London 1967, p. 82.

15 For a detailed account of the ceremony see Prawer, *Latin Kingdom*, pp. 98–101.

16 Mayer, 'Latins, Muslims and Greeks', p. 176.

17 Prawer nonetheless suggests it was held in the *Templum Salomonis*; Prawer, *Latin Kingdom*, p. 101. However, by the time the ceremony had developed the *Templum Domini* may no longer have been the royal palace.

18 On the insignia see Bianca Kühnel, *Crusader Art of the Twelfth Century*, Berlin 1994, p. 77. For a description of the ceremony of Emperor Baldwin see Michael F. Hendy, *Catalogue of the Byzantine Coins in the Dumbarton Oaks Collection and in the Wittemore Collection*, vol. 4, Washington, DC 1999, p. 143.

19 William of Tyre, 9.15.

20 Fulcher of Chartres, II.64.6.

21 William of Tyre, 15.27.

22 Fulcher of Chartres, III:19.

23 Benjamin Z. Kedar notes that it was carried into battle or siege twenty-one times between 1101 and 1187; Benjamin Z. Kedar, 'Intellectual Activities in a Holy City: Jerusalem in the Twelfth Century', in Benjamin Z. Kedar and R.J. Zwi Werblowsky (eds), *Sacred Space. Shrine, City, Land*, New York 1998, n. 16. Alan Murray records no less than thirty-one primarily military actions on which it was taken; Alan Van Murray, '"Mighty Against the Enemies of Christ". The Relic of the True Cross in the Armies of the Kingdom of Jerusalem', in J. France and W. Zajac (eds), *Crusades and their Sources*, Aldershot and Brookfield, VT, 1998, p. 222. At such times it was guarded by the Commander of Jerusalem and twenty knights; Upton-Ward 1992, p. 49. For a detailed discussion of this important object see also Giuseppe Ligato, 'The Political Meaning of the Relic of the Holy Cross', in M. Balard (ed.), *L'Autour*, pp. 315–30.

24 Peters, *Distant Shrine*, p. 56.

25 Alan Murray suggests early August as the date when it was found, as this was after the election of ruler and patriarch, but before the Battle of Ascalon when it was taken into battle as a talisman. France and Zajac (eds), *Crusades and their Sources*, p. 220.

26 William of Tyre, 9.4.

27 Gabrieli, *Arab Historians*, pp. 136–7.

28 Theodericus, 8, p. 152.

29 Ibid., 9, p. 153.

30 Ibid., 9, p. 153. According to John of Würzburg this place was opposite Calvary; John of Würzburg, p. 123.

31 Theodericus, 9, p. 153.

32 The importance of this post is evident in the fact that it was held at one stage by Arnulf of Chocques. See Hans E. Mayer, 'Die Hofkapelle der Könige von Jerusalem', *Deutsches Archiv für Erforschung des Mittelalters* 44, 1988, p. 494, notes 20, 22.

33 Lyons and Jackson, *Saladin*, pp. 347, 349.
34 A second relic of the True Cross (perhaps that kept by the Syrians) which had not been taken into battle in 1187, was still in Frankish hands at the time of the fall of the city in September; Benvenisti 1970, p. 44. It may be the same fragment serving as the standard of the Crusader army during the Fifth Crusade, carried by the patriarch of Jerusalem. See Thomas C. Van Cleve, 'The Fifth Crusade', in K. Setton, *History*, vol. 2, p. 390.

CHAPTER 5: EDUCATION AND INTELLECTUAL LIFE

1 Benjamin Z. Kedar, 'Intellectual Activities in a Holy City: Jerusalem in the Twelfth Century', in B. Kedar and R. Werblowsky (eds), *Sacred Space. Shrine, City, Land*, New York, 1998, p. 135.
2 This is a very unimpressive list. This sorry state of affairs has resulted in a dearth of scholarly interest in the intellectual life of Crusader Jerusalem. Kedar notes that the fact that the poem composed by Geoffroi has never been published in full is symptomatic of this lack of interest; ibid., p. 129.
3 On the Hospital of St John see Benjamin Z. Kedar, 'A Twelfth-Century Description of the Jerusalem Hospital', in H. Nicholson, *Military Orders*, pp. 3–26.
4 Riley-Smith, *Knights of St John*, p. 335, mentions the existence of a school of medicine in Jerusalem.
5 Etan Kohlberg and B.Z. Kedar, 'A Melkite Physician in Frankish Jerusalem and Ayyubid Damascus: Muwaffaq al-Din Yaqub b. Siqlab', *AAS* 22 (Haifa) 1988 (repr. in B.Z. Kedar, *The Franks in the Levant in the 11th to 14th Centuries*, Ashgate, 1993) pp. 116–18.

CHAPTER 6: THE POPULATION

1 See pp. 13–14.
2 Fulcher of Chartres (II.6.9) records that there were no more than three hundred knights and as many foot soldiers to defend Jerusalem, Jaffa, Ramleh and Haifa. William of Tyre (9.19) notes that of the Crusader leaders only Godfrey and Tancred stayed on in the East and there remained barely three hundred knights and two thousand foot soldiers.
3 William of Tyre, 9.19.
4 According to William of Tyre, the city was almost empty and there were hardly enough people to defend the gates and walls. The Franks scarcely filled a single street and there were very few Syrians; William of Tyre, 11.27.
5 John of Würzburg, p. 69.
6 See p. 14.
7 Benvenisti, *Crusaders in the Holy Land*, pp. 26–27.
8 Anonymous Pilgrims I–VIII, pp. 1–86.
9 Anonymous Pilgrims, 25–9.
10 Upton-Ward, *The Rule of the Temple* (Primitive Rule), nos 17–20, 22, Woodbridge 1992, pp. 24–5.
11 Joshua Prawer, 'Social Classes in the Latin Kingdom: the Franks', in K. Setton (ed.), *History*, vol. 5, pp. 125–6.
12 Prawer, *Latin Kingdom*, p. 73.
13 See pp. 165–7.
14 *Regesta*, no. 154.
15 See p. 177.

16 Ibid.
17 Benjamin Z. Kedar, 'A Twelfth Century Description of the Jerusalem Hospital', in H. Nicholson (ed.), *Military Orders,* p. 6.
18 Balian of Ibelin told Saladin that only two in every hundred of the town's population could manage to pay this. Saladin generously agreed to free the poor at a payment of 30,000 bezants for 7,000 men and freed an additional 1,000 for no payment at all, as did his brother, al-Adil.
19 Anonymous Pilgrim V.2, pp. 27–9.
20 Bernard Hamilton, 'The Latin Church in the Crusader States', in Krijnie Ciggaar, Adelbert Davids and Herman Teule (eds) *East and West in the Crusader States. Acta of the congress held at Hernen Castle in May 1993*, Leuven 1996, p. 11.
21 Ibid., p. 11.
22 Mayer, 'Latins, Muslims and Greeks', pp. 176–7.
23 A modern equivalent was recorded by the British novelist, John Mortimer who recently wrote: 'The English have always been drawn to Tuscany, so that in the last century the common Italian word for foreigners, no matter from what country they came, was *inglesi*. One hotel porter in Siena was apparently heard to say, "We've got six English in tonight: three of them are French, two German and one Russian"'; John Mortimer, *Murderers and Other Friends*, London, New York 1994, p. 168.
24 Shlomo D. Goitein, 'Jerusalem in the Arab Period', *Jerusalem Cathedra* 2, 1982, p. 185.
25 This is recorded in 1173 when a charter (*Regesta*, no. 502) was witnessed by a Greek Orthodox archbishop of Gaza surrounded by a community of Greek clerics serving at the Anastasis. Exactly when this occurred is uncertain.
26 An example of the way Eastern Christians may have participated in the defence of the city during the Crusader siege is illustrated by the legend that became attached to a Western Christian, Gerard, who was head of the Amalfitan Hospice in Jerusalem. According to this tale, during the fighting Gerard threw loaves of bread, rather than stones, at the besiegers. Miraculously, when he was arrested by the Muslims the loaves turned into stones. See A. Luttrell, in B. Kedar *et al.* (eds), *Montjoie*, Aldershot 1997, p. 39 and note 18.
27 This was due, no doubt, to the fact that they were difficult to distinguish from the others as they wore similar clothing and spoke Arabic.
28 *RHC*, Lois, I, p. 26.
29 Jean Richard, *The Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem*, vol. A, transl. Janet Shirley, Amsterdam, New York and Oxford 1979, p. 138.
30 Theodericus, 7, p. 152.
31 Hamilton, in K. Ciggaar *et al.* (eds), *East and West*, p. 11.
32 Joshua Prawer, 'The Armenians in Jerusalem Under the Crusaders', in M. Stone (ed.), *ABS*, Jerusalem 1976, p. 226.
33 Ibid., p. 230.
34 Ibid., p. 234.
35 Theodericus, 7, p. 152.
36 William of Tyre, 11.27.
37 Fulcher of Chartres, II.64.5.
38 See p. 14, n. 41.
39 J. Prawer, *The History of the Jews in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem*, Oxford 1988, pp. 139–44. Benjamin of Tudela refers to Jewish pilgrims visiting the Western Wall of the Temple Mount (which in this period was probably exposed for its entire length) and the pool used in ancient times by the priests before offering sacrifices; M. N. Adler (ed.), *The Itinerary of Benjamin of Tudela*, London 1907, p. 23. This was probably the *Birqat Isra'il*.

Here they were accustomed to write their names on the wall (a practice also recorded at the Western Wall in later times).

40 A. Poznanski (ed.), *Abraham bar Hiyya, Sefer Megillat ha-Megalleh*, Berlin 1924, pp. 99–100; Prawer 1988, p. 139; Adler, *The Itinerary of Benjamin of Tudela*, p. 23. The account of Benjamin of Tudela has been variously interpreted to refer to four or two hundred dyers.

41 *Jewish Travellers*, ed. Elkan Nathan Adler, London 1930, p. 88.

42 Kedar, in Nicholson, *Military Orders*, p. 7, n. 25.

43 Judah al-Harizi, *Tahkemoni, maqamah*, ed. A. Kaminka, Warsaw 1899, p. xlvi.

44 Prawer 1988, p. 91.

45 Thomas C. Van Cleve, 'The Crusade of Frederick II', in K. Setton, vol. 2 (1969), p. 456.

PART II: THE PHYSICAL REMAINS OF CRUSADER JERUSALEM

1 George Williams, *The Holy City. Historical, Topographical, and Antiquarian Notices of Jerusalem*, London 1849.

2 Edward Robinson, *Biblical Researches in Palestine and the Adjacent Regions*, 3 vols, Jerusalem 1970. See in particular sections vii in vol. 1 and iv and v in vol. 3.

3 Ermete Pierotti, *Jerusalem Explored*, 2 vols, transl. Thomas George Bonney, Cambridge 1864.

4 Charles Clermont-Ganneau, *Archaeological Researches in Palestine*, London 1899 (repr. Jerusalem 1971), pp. 116–26.

5 Ibid., pp. 279–90.

6 Charles Warren and Claude Reignier Conder, *The Survey of Western Palestine. Jerusalem*, London 1884 (repr. Jerusalem 1970).

7 Claude Reignier Conder, *The City of Jerusalem*, notably chapter 13, 'The Latin Kingdom', pp. 275–307 and chapter 14, 'Franks and Moslems', London 1909, pp. 308–26.

8 Conrad Schick, 'The Muristan, or the Site of the Hospital of St. John at Jerusalem', *PEFQS* 1902, pp. 42–56.

9 L.-H. Vincent and F.-M. Abel, *Jérusalem nouvelle*, 4 vols, Paris 1914–26, see vol. 2, pp. 945–73.

10 For general discussions see Joshua Prawer, 'The Settlement of the Latins in Jerusalem,' *Speculum* 27, 1952, pp. 490–503; 'The Jerusalem the Crusaders Captured: a Contribution to the Medieval Topography of the City', in P. Edbury (ed.), 1985, pp. 1–16; 'Jewish Settlement in Crusader Jerusalem', *Ariel: a Review of Arts and Sciences in Israel* 19, 1967, pp. 60–6; 'The Armenians in Jerusalem under the Crusaders' pp. 222–36, in Michael E. Stone (ed.), *Armenia and Biblical Studies*, Jerusalem 1976; 'Crusader Cities' in *The Medieval City*, eds H.A. Miskimin, D. Herlihy and A.L. Udovich, New Haven, CT, 1977.

11 Benvenisti, *Crusaders in the Holy Land*, pp. 35–73.

12 Dan Bahat, 'Jérusalem: jardin arménien', *RB* 78, 1971, pp. 598–9; 'The Church of Mary Magdalene and its Quarter', *EI* 18, 1985, pp. 5–7; Dan Bahat and M. Ben-Ari, 'The Excavations at Zahal Square', *Qadmoniot* 5, 1972, pp. 118–19; 'Excavations at Tancred's Tower', pp. 109–10, in Y. Yadin (ed.), *Jerusalem Revealed*, Jerusalem, 1975; Dan Bahat and Magen Broshi, 'Excavations in the Armenian Garden', in ibid., pp. 55–6; Dan Bahat and Ronnie Reich, 'Une église médiévale dans le quartier juif de Jérusalem', *RB* 93, 1986, pp. 111–14; Meir Ben-Dov, *Jerusalem's Fortifications: The City Walls, the Gates and the Temple Mount* (Hebrew), Jerusalem 1983; *In the Shadow of the Temple*, transl. I. Friedman, Jerusalem 1985.

13 Dan Bahat, 'Topography and Archaeology. Crusader Period', in J. Prawer and H. Ben-Shammai (eds), *History of Jerusalem*, pp. 68–120; *The Topography and Toponomy of Crusader Jerusalem*, unpublished PhD thesis, Hebrew University of Jerusalem 1991.
14 Peters, *Jerusalem*.
15 Pringle, 'Crusader Jerusalem', pp. 105–13.
16 See L. Vincent and F. Abel, *Jérusalem nouvelle*, 4 vols with album, Paris 1914–26; Camille Enlart, *Monuments des croisés dans le royaume de Jérusalem: architecture religieuse et civile*, Bibliothèque archéologique et historique, vols 7, 8 and atlas, Paris 1925–28; Folda, *Art of the Crusades*; Hugh Plommer, 'The Cenacle on Mount Sion', pp. 139–66, in Jaroslav Folda (ed.), *Crusader Art in the Twelfth Century*, Oxford 1982; Bianca Kühnel, 'The Date of the Crusader Church of the Ascension on the Mount of Olives' (Hebrew), in *Jerusalem in the Middle Ages: Selected Papers*, ed. B.Z. Kedar, *Jerusalem*, 1979, pp. xxv–xxvi (English summary); 'Crusader Sculpture at the Ascension Church on the Mount of Olives in Jerusalem', *Gesta* 16, 1977, pp. 41–50; Nurit Kenaan, 'Local Christian Art in Twelfth Century Jerusalem', *IEJ* 23, 1973, pp. 167–75; Nurit Kenaan-Kedar, 'Symbolic Meaning in Crusader Architecture: The Twelfth Century Dome of the Holy Sepulchre Church in Jerusalem', *Cahiers Archéologiques* 34, 1986, pp. 109–17; Denys Pringle, *The Churches of the Crusader Kingdom of Jerusalem*, vol. 3, forthcoming; Zehava Jacoby, 'The Workshop of the Temple Area in Jerusalem in the Twelfth Century: Its Origin, Evolution and Impact', *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte* 45, 1982, pp. 325–94; 'The Provençal Impact on Crusader Sculpture in Jerusalem: More Evidence on the Temple Area Atelier', *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte* 48, 1985, pp. 442–50.
17 G.J. Wightman, *The Walls of Jerusalem from the Canaanites to the Mamluks*, Sydney 1993 (notably part III, chapters 10–12). See also Dan Bahat and M. Ben-Ari, 'Excavations at Tancred's Tower', in Y. Yadin (ed.), *Jerusalem Revealed*, pp. 109–10; Hillel Geva and Dan Bahat, 'Architectural and Chronological Aspects of the Ancient Damascus Gate Area', *IEJ* 48 (3–4), 1998, pp. 223–5.
18 Klaus Bieberstein and Hanswulf Bloedhorn, *Jerusalem: Grundzüge der Baugeschichte vom Chalkolithikum bis zur Frühzeit der osmanischen Herrschaft*, 3 vols, Wiesbaden 1994.
19 Preliminary work on these structures is at present being carried out by the Israel Antiquities Authority. On the flood water diversion see pp. 178–9.

CHAPTER 7: THE FORTIFICATIONS

20 The earthquake of the winter of 1033–34 stretched over a period of 40 days and, in Jerusalem, caused damage to the city walls and many of the churches; D.H. Kallner-Amiran, 'A Revised Earthquake Catalogue of Palestine', *IEJ* 1, 1950–51, p. 227. Al-Zâhir's repairs may have been long delayed repairs to the walls damaged by an earlier, strong earthquake that occurred in 1016; see Wightman 1993, p. 245.
21 Yahya ibn Sa'id, quoted by Peters, *Jerusalem*, p. 269.
22 William of Tyre, *A History of Deeds Done Beyond the Sea*, 9.17, 18; transl. E. Babcock and A. Krey, New York 1943, pp. 405.
23 According to one account, during the Fatimid bombardment of the walls with mangonels and other siege machines which was carried out by al-Afdal ibn Badr al-Jamâlî, a section of the wall collapsed; Hiyari 1997, pp. 136–7.
24 *Gesta Francorum*, pp. 87–91; William of Tyre, 8:13; 8:15; 8:17; 8:18; Theodericus 3, p. 145.
25 G.J. Wightman has suggested that the line of the city wall on Mount Zion, which was established in the eleventh century, was slightly north of the present (Turkish) city wall;

Wightman, *The Walls*, p. 247. If so the ditch on Mount Zion, which was referred to in descriptions of the Crusader siege, would have been near to the line of the present wall. However, there is no archaeological evidence for this, nor any reason to date the wall excavated beneath the Turkish wall to the Ayyubid rather than the Fatimid period.

26 For the earthquakes of 1113, 1114 and 1115 which may have caused some damage to the walls (there is no direct mention of such damage) see Kallner-Amiran, 'Revised Earthquake Catalogue', pp. 227–8; D.H.K. Amiran and T. Turcotte, 'Earthquakes in Israel and Adjacent Areas: Macroseismic Observations Since 100 BCE', *IEJ* 44, 1994, p. 269.

27 William of Tyre, 21.25.

28 The church of St Mary on Mount Zion is described early in the thirteenth century as destroyed; see p. 112, n. 63. The churches of St Stephen and St Lazarus may have been dismantled to supply building material; Benvenisti, *Crusaders in the Holy Land*, p. 51. The Church of St Stephen was in fact already in ruins having been dismantled by the Franks themselves prior to the Ayyubid siege of 1187 in order to prevent Saladin from making use of it to approach the walls (it is located fairly near to the northern city wall).

29 Mujîr al-Dîn 1876, p. 78.

30 Quoted by G. Wightman, *The Walls*, p. 273.

31 Wightman observed the somewhat remarkable silence of contemporary historians on the considerable efforts of al-Mu'azzam 'Isâ compared with the perhaps not surprisingly overwhelming criticism of the dismantling of the walls that he carried out later; Wightman, *The Walls*, p. 278.

32 See M. Van Berchem, *Matériaux pour un Corpus Inscriptionum Arabicarum* vol. 2, Cairo 1922; M. Sharon, 'The Ayyubid Walls of Jerusalem. A New Inscription from the Time of al-Mu'azzam 'Isâ', pp. 179–93, in Miriam Rosen-Ayalon (ed.), *Studies in the Memory of Gaston Wiet*, Jerusalem 1977; Magen Broshi, 'Along Jerusalem's Walls', *BA* 40, 1977, pp. 11–17; Wightman, *The Walls*, pp. 278–80.

33 He also destroyed the fortifications of Mount Tabor, Toron, Banyas and Safed.

34 Donald P. Little, 'Jerusalem under the Ayyubids and Mamluks 1187–1516 AD', in K. Asali (ed.), *Jerusalem in History*, p. 183; Thomas C. Van Cleve, 'The Fifth Crusade', in K. Setton (ed.), *History*, vol. 2, p. 410.

35 Wightman, *The Walls*, p. 277.

36 See pp. 53–6.

37 E. Robinson, *Biblical Researches in Palestine and the Adjacent Regions*, vols 1 and 3, [1856], (repr. Jerusalem 1970), pp. 317–18.

38 The Jewish Italian traveller Rabbi Meshulam ben Rabbi Menahem of Volterra wrote in 1481: 'Now Jerusalem has no walls except a little on one side where I entered'; Adler 1930, p. 189. Another Jewish Italian, Obadiah of Bertinoro, wrote in c. 1488: 'Jerusalem is for the most part desolate and in ruins. I need not repeat that it is not surrounded by walls'; Adler 1930, p. 234. Illustrations show that sections of walls remained, but they were of little value because of the large areas which were no longer defended. See M. Levy, 'Medieval Maps', in J. Prawer and H. Ben-Shammai (eds), *History of Jerusalem*, pp. 418–507, notably the fifteenth-century Munich and Comminelli maps.

39 Ekkehard of Aura, *Hierosolymita*, ed. H. Hagenmayer, Tübingen 1877, pp. 74–5. See Joshua Prawer, 'The Jerusalem the Crusaders Captured: a contribution to the Medieval Topography of the City', in P.W. Edbury (ed.), *Crusade and Settlement*, Cardiff 1985, p. 2.

40 Theodericus, 3, p. 145.

41 Alternatively, the two walls may have continued as far south as the Temple Mount.

42 Robinson, *Biblical Researches*, vol. 3, p. 188.

43 See Conrad Schick, 'Notes on the Plan of Jerusalem' and 'Recent Discoveries in Jerusalem. Remains of Old Wall Outside the Present Northern Wall of the City', *PEFQS* 1889, pp. 62–3 and plan facing page 62.
44 G. Turler *et al*., 'North Wall', *HA* 69/71, 1979 (Hebrew), pp. 56–7.
45 Robinson, *Biblical Researches*, vol. 3, p. 188; E.A. Finn, 'Note on the Remains of Old Wall Outside the Present North Wall of Jerusalem', *PEFQS* 1889, p. 205.
46 See John France, *Victory in the East. A Military History of the First Crusade*, Cambridge 1996, p. 342, n. 37.
47 F.J Bliss and A.C. Dickie, *Excavations at Jerusalem*, London 1898, p. 336.
48 Conder, *City of Jerusalem*, p. 290. See also Clermont-Ganneau, *Archaeological Researches*, pp. 276–7.
49 We should not entirely rule out the twelfth-century date. This could be the forewall or barbican mentioned in various accounts of the conquest in 1099, repaired and perhaps extended during the twelfth century. Neither Bliss nor Conder are very clear in their descriptions. Does Conder mean that a diagonally tooled Frankish moulding was built into a wall – i.e. in secondary use, or that a Frankish moulding was built into a wall of diagonally-tooled stones. If so we have here a Frankish wall, possibly dating to the twelfth century.
50 This is the year in which the *Liber Secretorum Fidelium Crucis Marinus Sanutus* was handed to Pope John XXII at Avignon. Sanudo did not himself visit Jerusalem. His map of Jerusalem was probably based on the account and map of Burchard of Mount Zion (dating to *c*. 1280) which seems to have been the model for Sanudo's description.
51 Dan Bahat and M. Ben Ari, 'Excavations at Tancred's Tower', in Y. Yadin (ed.), *Jerusalem Revealed*, p. 109. If this is the forewall then the main wall must be somewhere south of Tancred's Tower.
52 Theodericus, 19, p. 166.
53 Benjamin Mazar, *The Mountain of the Lord*, New York 1975, p. 279.
54 The best aerial photographs were in fact taken long before the excavation. One undated photograph taken by the German Luftwaffe was published by Gustaf Dalman; *Hundert deutsche Fliegerbilder aus Palastina*, Gütersloh 1925, Plate 5. See also a photograph dated 1917 in Benjamin Z. Kedar, *The Changing Land Between the Jordan and the Sea. Aerial photographs from 1917 to the present*, Jerusalem 1999, p. 132 (foldout).
55 Meir Ben-Dov, *Jerusalem's Fortifications: The City Walls, the Gates and the Temple Mount* (Hebrew), Tel Aviv 1983, pp. 70–1.
56 Theodericus, 19, p. 166; English transl. *PPTS* 5, p. 33.
57 D. Bahat and M. Ben Ari, 'Excavations at Tancred's Tower', in Y. Yadin (ed.), *Jerusalem Revealed*, p. 109.
58 Turler *et al*., 'North Wall', pp. 56–7.
59 The remains of the tower do not show any sign of a postern here, but these remains (of which only the core of the wall survives) probably belong to the post-Frankish stage, probably the rebuilding by al-Mu'azzam 'Isâ in the early thirteenth century.
60 Bahat and Ben-Ari, '"Tancred's Tower' in Y. Yadin, *Jerusalem Revealed*, pp. 109–10.
61 Pringle, 'Crusader Jerusalem', p. 106.
62 Nahman Avigad, *Discovering Jerusalem*, Nashville, TN, 1983, p. 251; M. Broshi and Y. Tsafrir, 'Excavations at the Zion Gate, Jerusalem', *IEJ* 27, 1977, p. 32; Bahat and Ben-Ari, 'Tancred's Tower', in Y. Yadin, *Jerusalem Revealed*, p. 109.
63 This combined use of fieldstone construction together with marginally-drafted ashlars for the quoins is considered a typical medieval technique, even perhaps a yardstick for the identification of Crusade masonry. See Ronnie Ellenblum, 'Construction Methods in

Frankish Rural Settlement' in Benjamin Z. Kedar (ed.), *The Horns of Hattin*, Jerusalem 1992, p. 172. This suggests that the stretch of wall described here, which, as noted, was constructed in 1063, was perhaps rebuilt during the twelfth century (in 1116 or 1177). The height to which it survives preserved in the Turkish wall probably represents the extent of the remains of the wall after the dismantling of it by al-Mu'azzam 'Isâ in 1219.

64 *La Citez*, p. 198.

65 Theodericus, 3, p. 146.

66 This is the case with St Stephen's Gate, Tanners' Gate and Zion Gate, the three medieval gates of which sufficient remains survive to enable their reconstruction. The positioning of the posterns on the double walls (St Lazarus' postern in the north-west and perhaps St Mary Magdalene's postern in the north-east) would have achieved the same effect by placing the inner gate not opposite the outer gate but somewhat distant from it thus requiring anyone approaching by it to turn twice before entering the city.

67 It is possible that the importance of David's Gate dates from the twelfth century when it may have taken over the role previously held by St Sephen's Gate as the main gate of the city. Micky Ehrlich suggests (personal correspondence) that in the Byzantine period and also under Islamic rule the *Cardo* functioned as the main thoroughfare of the city and consequently the northern gate would have been the main gate of entry. From the north one could reach the main entrance to the Church of the Holy Sepulchre which was located on the *Cardo*. When the church was rebuilt in the eleventh century (and later by the Franks in the twelfth century) the entrance was moved to the south. Under the Franks both the Church of the Holy Sepulchre and the Temple Mount were important holy sites, and consequently the *Decumanus* (David Street) which gave access to both these sites became the main thoroughfare of the city.

68 Saewulf, p. 64.

69 Fretellus, p. 1.

70 William of Tyre, 8.5.

71 These capitals are unusual in that they are not carved in the round but are cut on two faces of a square block of stone.

72 *Regesta*, no. 268.

73 On this possible location see Charles Clermont-Ganneau, 'Archaeological and Epigraphic Notes on Palestine', *PEFQS* 1901, p. 112.

74 Nehemiah 3:3, 12:39; also in Zephaniah 1:10.

75 Burchardus, p. 73.

76 Michael Avi-Yonah, *The Madaba Mosaic Map*, Jerusalem 1954, p. 52, Plate 7.

77 *La Citez*, p. 199. Anonymous Pilgrim V, who visited Jerusalem before 1187, also mentions that he entered the city via St Stephen's Gate; Anonymous Pilgrim V, p. 22. However, under Ayyubid rule pilgrims were brought into the city through the postern of St Lazarus further to the west; *La Citez*, p. 200. Later, under the Mamluks this restriction seems to have been eased. According to Marino Sanudo (1321), pilgrims entered via the Gate of Benjamin (St Stephen's Gate) (Marino Sanudo, p. 38), or the 'Valley Gate' (pp. 47–8), a reference to the Gate of Jehoshaphat which Sanudo erroneously located 'a stone's-throw distant from the great temple enclosure, on the south side'.

78 M. de Vogüé, *Les Églises de la Terre Sainte*, Paris 1860, p. 412. In English, Fretellus, p. 1. The later date (1148) for the version of this source is given by P.C. Boeren, *Rorgo Fretellus de Nazareth et sa Description de la Terre Sainte, Histoire et Edition du Text*, Amsterdam, Oxford and New York 1980, p. xxvii.

79 *Survey of Western Palestine*, 1884, pp. 235–6.

80 R.W. Hamilton, 'Excavations Against the North Wall of Jerusalem, 1937–38', *QDAP* 10, 1944, pp. 1–54.

81 J.B. Hennessy, 'Preliminary Report on the Excavations at Damascus Gate, Jerusalem, 1964–1966', *Levant* 2, 1970, pp. 22–7. See also K.M. Kenyon, *Digging up Jerusalem*, London 1974, pp. 237–46.

82 G.J. Wightman, *The Damascus Gate, Jerusalem, Excavations by C.M. Bennett and J.B. Hennessy at the Damascus Gate, Jerusalem 1964–66, BAR-International Series 519*, Oxford 1989.

83 Frescoes in the chapel have been dated on the basis of style, to *c.* 1140. See Lucy-Anne Hunt, 'Damascus Gate, Jerusalem, and Crusader Wallpainting of the Mid-Twelfth Century', in J. Folda (ed.), *Crusader Art*, Oxford 1982, p. 196.

84 Wightman, *Damascus Gate*, p. 59. Wightman gives 1212–25 as the reign of John of Brienne and thus dates the last phase to 1212 or later (the date of John of Brienne's reign is sometimes given as 1210–1225).

85 See Hillel Geva and Dan Bahat, 'Architectural and Chronological Aspects of the Ancient Damascus Gate Area', *IEJ* 48, 1998, pp. 223–35.

86 These sources do appear to support Geva and Bahat's suggestion of a later date for the gate, although it is feasible that the first phase was early twelfth century, as Wightman suggested, but was rarely used. There is, however, no evidence to support the suggestion of Bahat and Geva that the maps must date to 'quite late in the twelfth century'. Regarding these maps see pp. 199–200. I believe that they date from, or to be more accurate, most of them are copies of, a prototype which must date from the first half of the twelfth century. The form of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre supports this.

87 Wightman, *Damascus Gate*, p. 59.

88 *La Citez*, p. 199.

89 The same arrangement can be seen in many medieval gates, for example the Tanners' Gate on the south wall and the East Gate at Caesarea.

90 Wightman suggests that this tower may have been of Ayyubid date; *The Walls*, p. 279.

91 Magen Broshi, 'Mount Zion', *IEJ* 24, 1974, p. 285.

92 Three pieces of this inscription were found in the debris of this tower, one found prior to the excavation. The inscription in the form of a *tabula ansata* is 2.7 m long, with fine Naskhi lettering, the background retaining some of the original red paint. See illustration in M. Broshi, 'New Excavations along the Walls of Jerusalem', *Qadmoniot* 9 (30–9), 1975, (Hebrew) p. 78.

93 This new Zion Gate was the tower beneath the present (Turkish) Zion Gate, also excavated in 1974 and published by Broshi and Tsafrir. They believe it to be contemporary with the Ayyubid Zion Gate (i.e. *c.* 1212). See Magen Broshi and Yoram Tsafrir, 'Excavations at the Zion Gate, Jerusalem', *IEJ* 27, 1977, pp. 28–37. I believe it unlikely that these two gates are contemporary. There is little sense in building two large gate towers in close proximity, especially considering that both of them may have served as no more than internal gates in what, since al-Malik al-'Adîl's recent efforts, had become an interior wall. The southern wall was now located on the ridge of Mount Zion (see map of al-Malik al-'Adîl's wall in Wightman, *The Walls*, p. 275, Figure 85), and no doubt survived until al-Mu'azzam 'Isâ destroyed it in 1219.

94 The external part was excavated by Magen Broshi in 1974; Magen Broshi, 'Along Jerusalem's Walls', *BA* 40, 1977, pp. 11–17. The larger part of the tower inside the city was excavated some years later by Avigad, *Discovering Jerusalem*, pp. 251–4.

95 The existing restoration of this gate is somewhat problematic, as on the northern wall of the surviving ground storey there are two casemates for archers but no inner portal.

96 It is possible that the line of the eastern city wall from the north-east corner, as far as this gate or perhaps all the way to the north-east corner of the Temple Mount, was a few metres west of the present wall. A medieval tower of uncertain date was discovered east

of the Church of St Anne. Its position, extending well to the west of the Turkish wall suggests that the line of the curtain wall to which it belonged (if it was not free-standing) was slightly west of the present wall, the latter perhaps having been constructed above the medieval forewall. Regarding this tower see G. Wightman, *The Walls*, pp. 281–2.

97 *La Citez*, p. 200.

98 Ibid.

99 Charles Clermont-Ganneau, 'Archaeological and Epigraphic Notes on Palestine', *PEFQS* 1901, pp. 113–14.

100 Baurath Von Schick, 'Reports from Herr Baurath Von Schick, A Stair and Postern in the Old Wall', *PEFQS* 1895, p. 30. The description suggests that these steps were constructed and not rock-cut, as are those in the moat to the north of Jaffa Gate.

101 *La Citez*, p. 206.

102 Wightman, *The Walls*, p. 262.

103 Jon Seligman, 'Jerusalem. The Walls of the Old City', *HA* 108, 1998 (Hebrew), pp. 138–9. The Fatimid city wall, constructed around 1033, runs under the Ottoman wall, its face extending 30 to 50 cm north of the Ottoman wall.

104 *Regesta*, nos 558, 559; *La Citez*, 4 describes the gate as a postern leading to Mount Zion, but does not give its name.

105 Dan Bahat, 'Two Recent Studies of the Archaeology of Jerusalem: Review Article', *PEFQS* 130, 1998, p. 57.

106 *La Citez*, p. 201.

107 Meir Ben-Dov, 'Excavations and Architectural Surveys of the Archaeological Remains Along the Southern Wall of the Jerusalem Old City', in *Ancient Jerusalem Revealed*, ed. H. Geva, Jerusalem 1994, pp. 316–17.

108 See Ben-Dov, *In the Shadow of the Temple. The Discovery of Ancient Jerusalem*, transl. Ina Friedman, Jerusalem 1985, pp. 336–41. Recent work, including excavations within the city adjacent to the gate and restoration of the gate itself, has not yet been published.

109 See reconstructions in Ben-Dov, 'Excavations' in H. Geva, *Ancient Jerusalem*, pp. 316–17.

110 Wightman, *The Walls*, p. 262.

111 Benjamin Mazar, *The Excavations in the Old City Near the Temple Mount. Preliminary Report of the Second and Third Seasons, 1969–70*, Jerusalem 1971, p. 24, Plate IX.

112 Bahat, *NEAEHL*, p. 797.

113 One cannot rule out the possibility that these are remains of settlement outside the wall. Nonetheless, it seems to me that there is at present little basis for moving the southern city wall to the north of the present line.

114 Yacov Billig, personal communication.

115 The cattle market supplied hides for the tanners, parchments for the scriptoria and perhaps furs for the furriers located in the *vicus Pelliparіorum* (Street of the Furriers); see pp. 165–6.

116 Erich W. Cohn, *New Ideas About Jerusalem's Topography*, Jerusalem 1987, p. 56.

117 This was traditionally a dumping area. The ground level had risen about 2 m since the Byzantine period through the accumulation of waste here. The name of the later gate (Dung Gate) probably relates to the presence of the cattle market in this area.

118 John of Würzburg, p. 134.

119 Peters, *Distant Shrine*, p. 261.

120 Burchardus, pp. 64, 75.

121 William of Tyre, 8.3.

122 Marino Sanudo, p. 47.

123 *La Citez*, p. 206; *PPTS* 6, p. 38.

124 From this gate a short path led to the Mount of Olives, via an arch. See Burchardus, p. 75. Perhaps this was the route taken by the procession on Palm Sunday.
125 Later accounts note this. For example Niccolo of Poggibonsi, who visited the city in 1346–50, wrote that the gate 'is all covered with iron attached with stout nails, but now many nails have been removed for the Christians take them, when they can, because they have great power. The wood at the back of the gate is cypress'; Fra Niccolo of Poggibonsi, *A Voyage Beyond the Seas (1346–1350)*, transl. T. Bellorini and E. Hoade, Jerusalem 1945, pp. 45–6. Meshullam of Volterra, who arrived in 1481, mentioned that the gates were 'of iron, closed and imbedded about two cubits in the ground and project about four cubits above the ground'; Adler, *Jewish Travellers*, p. 191; and Obadiah da Bertinoro who visited in 1487–90 also noted that the gates were 'of iron and always closed'; ibid., p. 240. He also refers to their being 'halfway above the ground, the other half is sunk in the earth' and notes that 'the Arabs often tried to raise them but were unable to do so'. Arnold von Harff wrote in 1498: 'The gate is of cypress wood covered with copper and is much cut and mutilated . . . We broke and cut off many pieces of the wood and copper which I carried back with me', Malcolm Letts (transl. and ed.), *The Pilgrimage of Arnold von Harff*, London 1946 (repr. Millwood, NY 1990), p. 211.
126 According to the Franciscan Elzear Horn this was done to prevent the Christians from entering this gate and recapturing the city; Horn 1962, pp. 28–9.
127 Wightman, *The Walls*, p. 231.
128 Pringle, 'Crusader Jerusalem', p. 107.
129 See above, n. 123.
130 Anonymous Pilgrim V.1, p. 24.
131 Levy, 'Medieval Maps', p. 468 and p. 488.
132 *La Citez*, p. 197.
133 Saewulf, p. 67.
134 Alternatively, J. Folda suggests that the sculpture found in obvious secondary use in this gate may possibly have originated in the Augustinian monastery on the Temple Mount which was dismantled by Saladin.
135 *La Citez*, p. 206; English transl. *PPTS* 6, p. 24.
136 Edward Robinson, *Biblical Researches in Palestine and the Adjacent Regions*, vol. 3, (repr. Jerusalem 1970), p. 170.
137 De Vogüé, *Les Églises*, p. 302; Vincent and Abel, *Jérusalem nouvelle*, vol. 2, Plate 86.
138 See Gabriela Glücksmann and Robert Kool, 'Crusader Period Finds from the Temple Mount Excavations in Jerusalem', *Atiqot* 26, 1995, pp. 87–104.
139 See plan in Glücksmann and Kool, 'Crusader Period Finds', Plan 1.
140 C. Conder, *The City of Jerusalem*, London 1909, p. 289; C. Conder and H. Kitchener, *The Survey of Western Palestine*, London 1881–3, pp. 237–9.
141 Pierotti, *Jerusalem Explored*, p. 69.
142 See Wightman, *The Walls*, pp. 279–82.
143 See English translation of *De constructione castrum Saphet* in Hugh Kennedy, *Crusader Castles*, Cambridge 1994, p. 194.
144 Burchardus, p. 65.
145 The nearby location of David's Tower may have suggested the name Goliath for this tower when it was built in the Fatimid period.
146 Levy, 'Medieval Maps', p. 484.
147 Ibid., p. 502.
148 Felix de Saulcy, *Voyage en Terre Sainte*, vol. 2, Paris 1865, pp. 129–30; Charles Warren, *Ordnance Survey of 1865. Notes on the Survey and on some of the most remarkable localities and buildings in and about Jerusalem*, London 1865 (repr. Jerusalem 1980), pp. 73–4.

149 Bahat and Ben-Ari, 'Tancred's Tower', 1976.
150 In the fifteenth century Comminelli map of Jerusalem the tower is seen within the walls; Levy, 'Medieval Maps', p. 502. Fairly substantial remains of the tower as they appeared prior to the construction of the Collège des Frères can be seen in the photograph by Mendel John Diness of *c.* 1860 published in Dror Wahrman, Carney Gavin and Nitza Rosovsky, *Capturing the Holy Land*, Cambridge, MA, 1993, p. 76, Plate 25. The tower also appears in a photograph published in C. Wilson 1865 (repr. Jerusalem 1980), Plate 31b.
151 Bahat, *NEAEHL*, p. 795.
152 Meir Ben-Dov, 'Excavations and Architectural Surveys of the Archaeological Remains Along the Southern Wall of the Jerusalem Old City', in H. Geva (ed.), *Ancient Jerusalem*, Jerusalem 1994, p. 316.
153 Y. Margovsky, 'Bordj Kabrit et environs', *RB* 78, 1971, pp. 597–8.
154 de Saulcy, *Voyage*, p. 109; C. Mauss, *La piscine de Bethesda à Jérusalem*, Paris 1888, pp. 47–9, Figures 37, 38.
155 See G. Wightman, *The Walls*, p. 282.

CHAPTER 8: THE CITADEL

1 Daniel attaches certain Biblical traditions to the tower: 'The tower, where also was his [David's] house, is the one in which the holy prophet composed and wrote his Psalter'; Daniel, *PPTS* 12, London 1895, p. 17.
2 Hillel Geva, 'Excavations in the Citadel of Jerusalem 1979–1980. Preliminary Report', *IEJ* 33, 1983, p. 69. Ronnie Ellenblum disputes this date, believing that the round tower and walls may have been part of the Crusader royal palace (personal communication).
3 Granier or Warner, Count of Grez [Grey] himself died on 22 July, only four days after Godfrey, but his action was speedy enough to ensure Baldwin's accession to the throne. See Allan Van Murray, 'Daimbert of Pisa, the *Domus Godefridi* and the Accession of Baldwin I of Jerusalem', *International Medieval Research* 3. *From Clermont to Jerusalem. The Crusades and Crusader Society 1095–1500*, ed. Allan Van Murray, Brepols 1998, p. 81.
4 Daniel, p. 17.
5 Al-Muqaddasi 1896, p. 37.
6 Fulcher of Chartres, I.26.3.
7 Fulcher of Chartres, I.26.4.
8 Theodericus, 4, p. 146.
9 *Regesta*, no. 110.
10 Fulcher of Chartres, III.28.3
11 William of Tyre, 17.14; English transl. E. Babcock and A. Krey, vol. 2, p. 206.
12 William of Tyre, 8.3.
13 Theodericus, 4, p. 146.
14 C.N. Johns, 'The Citadel, Jerusalem: a summary of work done since 1934', *QDAP* 14, 1950, pp. 121–90; repr. in *Pilgrims' Castle ('Atlit) David's Tower (Jerusalem) and Qal'at ar-Rabad ('Ajlun)*, ed. D. Pringle, Aldershot, Hampshire, 1997, p. 164 and n. 6.
15 Johns, 'The Citadel', pp. 121–90.
16 The excavations of 1968–69 were carried out by Ruth Amiran and Eitan Ayalon and were published by them, 'Excavations in the Courtyard of the Citadel, Jerusalem, 1968–69', *IEJ* 20, 1970, pp. 9–17. Those of 1979–80 were directed and published by H. Geva, 'Excavations in the Citadel', pp. 55–71.

17 The survey was carried out by Giora Solar. On the excavations in the courtyard see Renée Sivan (ed.), 'Tower of David', *Jerusalem City Museum*, Jerusalem 1983, pp. 13–41.

CHAPTER 9: THE ROYAL PALACES

1 Benvenisti, *Crusaders in the Holy Land*, p. 53.
2 Fulcher of Chartres, revision of 1118, I.26.
3 Ibid., revision of 1124, I.27.
4 J. Wilkinson (ed.), *Jerusalem Pilgrimage 1099–1185*, London 1988, pp. 36–8. The restoration of the Chapel of Saint Helena was one of the earliest stages of construction in the Church of the Holy Sepulchre in the twelfth century. The Franks rebuilt the vaulting, perhaps preserving the original four columns mentioned in the eighth-century account written by the monk Epiphanius in which the chapel is described as 'a structure with four columns'; J. Wilkinson, *Jerusalem Pilgrims Before the Crusades*, Jerusalem 1977, p. 117.
5 William of Tyre, 12.7.
6 William of Tyre, 12.7.
7 Muhammed al-Idrisî, transl. Guy Le Strange, in J. Wilkinson (ed.), *Jerusalem Pilgrimage*, p. 225.
8 John of Würzburg wrote that the Templars' apartments were near the palace of Solomon (*iuxta idem palacium milites Templarii habent plurima adiuncta aedificia magna et ampla*), which may be interpreted to mean that they did not occupy the palace itself; John of Würzburg, p. 134. However, Theoderich was much clearer on this point, stating that the Templars occupied the palace of Solomon and the other buildings connected with it; Theodericus 17, p. 164.
9 Milka Levy-Rubin, 'The Rediscovery of the Uppsala Map of Crusader Jerusalem', *ZDPV* 111, 1995, pp. 162–7, Plates 14 and 15 (cover of this volume).
10 Felix Fabri, p. 394.
11 Robinson, *Biblical Researches*, vol. 3, p. 195.
12 In parts of this structure Frankish diagonal tooling can be discerned on the stones, but the extent of the medieval structure remains unclear.
13 See Daniel, p. 13. See p. 80, n. 7.
14 Levy, 'Medieval Maps', pp. 467–70.
15 Theodericus, 4, p. 146. It is not referred to by John of Würzburg, who probably would have mentioned it had it existed at the time he wrote his account (*c.* 1160).
16 John [Joannes] Phocas, p. 19.
17 D. Bahat and M. Broshi, 'Armenian Gardens', pp. 55–6; D. Bahat, *NEAEHL*, p. 797. The remains exposed by Bahat in the Qishle compound consisted of the corner of a monumental building constructed of typically Frankish marginally drafted ashlars and with a plastered floor; Bahat, personal communication. Ongoing excavations (January 2001) have uncovered part of a massive wall east of the Qishle compound and this may also be part of the palace (excavation directed by Amit Re'em of the Israel Antiquities Authority).
18 D. Bahat, *NEAEHL*, p. 797.
19 Ibid., p. 797.
20 See Yehoshu'a Fraenkel, 'The Endowing of the al-Madrasa al-Salahiyya Religious Foundation (Waqf) by Saladin', pp. 64–85, in Joseph Drori (ed.), *Palestine in the Mamluk Period*, Jerusalem 1992.
21 '*Quant il [the emperor] ot porté corone, si dona le manoir le roi qui devant le tour David est à l'Hospital des Alemans*'; *Chronique d'Ernoul et de Bernard le Trésorier*, ed. M.L. De

Mas Latrie, Paris 1871, p. 465. However, C.N. Johns suggested that this bequest may refer to part of the citadel. See C.N. Johns, 'The Citadel, Jerusalem', *QDAP* 1950, (repr. 1997), p. 167. Elsewhere it is suggested that Frederick gave the Germans a house in the Armenian Quarter in what had formerly been the king's gardens (Conder, *City of Jerusalem*, p. 318).

22 This destruction, on top of al-Mu'azzam 'Isâ's destruction of the walls, was extensive. Twenty-three years later the Jewish scholar Nachmanides could still describe Jerusalem as being in ruins, with only about 2,000 inhabitants; F. Kobler, (ed.), *Letters of Jews through the Ages from Biblical Times to the Middle of the Eighteenth Century*, New York 1978, vol. 2, p. 226, although, possibly Nachmanides was referring here to the decline of the Jewish community rather than of the city as a whole.

CHAPTER 10: THE QUARTERS OF THE CITY

1 Bahat notes that the northern part of el-Wad Street, which was identified by Vincent and Abel as *Ruga Espania*, had only a single Spanish resident; D. Bahat 1990, p. 19 (English abstract). It is occasionally suggested that in the south of the Armenian quarter there were settlers from Provence who had taken part in the attack from Mount Zion led by Raymond of Toulouse in 1099, and who subsequently occupied the area just inside the southern wall. As noted above, the name given to the postern in this area, Belcayre or Beaucayre, has been considered to be the name of a town in Provence but may in fact be a reference to Mount Zion itself ('Beautiful Hill').

2 *Regesta*, nos 430, 469. For a general discussion of the patriarch and his quarter in Jerusalem see Joshua Prawer, 'The Patriarch's Lordship in Jerusalem', in *Crusader Institutions*, pp. 296–314.

3 William of Tyre, 9.18.

4 William of Tyre (transl. E. Babcock and A. Krey, New York 1943) p. 407; William of Tyre, 9.18.

5 The judicial autonomy of the patriarch in the twelfth century was considerable but not complete. It did not, for example, include the prerogative of judging cases of murder and treason; Prawer, *Crusader Institutions*, p. 298.

6 Peters, *Jerusalem*, p. 161.

7 Daniel, p. 13, n. 3.

8 *Regesta*, nos 170, 430.

9 This bathhouse remained in use until the nineteenth century. See below p. 162, n. 53.

10 See, p. 80.

11 Recently work was carried out by the Israel Antiquities Authority in the area to the north of the north transept where a large groin-vaulted hall was examined (below what has been identified as the infirmary) measuring 12.9–13.4 m by 30.7–31.6 m. Also examined was a small church of pre-Crusader date and a small cloister measuring 13 m by 14.5 m. See Jon Seligman and Gideon Avni, 'Jerusalem. Church of the Holy Sepulchre', *HA* 111, 2000, pp. 69–70.

12 *La Citez* (p. 201) mentions the vaulted street between the Syrian Exchange and the Church of the Holy Sepulchre where 'the Syrians sell their stuffs, and make wax candles'.

13 *Cart. Gén.*, p. 258, no. 376.

14 Yehoshua' Frenkel, 'Political and social aspects of Islamic religious endowments (*awqâf*): Saladin in Cairo (1169–73) and Jerusalem (1187–93)', *BSOAS* 62, 1999, pp. 7–8.

15 William of Tyre, 18.5.

16 Nasir-i Khosraw, p. 23.

17 An earlier tradition mentioned (p. 26) gives the date of AD 603 and Pope Gregory as the founder of the original hospice; Riley-Smith, *Knights of St John*, p. 34. Riley-Smith also refers to older traditions, albeit of a purely legendary nature. He mentions a scholarly brother of the Hospitaller order, William of S. Stefano, who records that the origins of the order were in the Second Temple period!; ibid., pp. 32–3.
18 A. Davids, 'Routes of Pilgrimage', in Krijnie Ciggaar *et al.* (eds), *East and West in the Crusader States. Acta of the congress held at Hernen Castle in May 1993*, Leuven 1996. F.E. Peters (1985, p. 275) has suggested that this institution was destroyed by the Fatimid Caliph al-Hâkim in the early eleventh century, thus necessitating the Amalfitan restoration, but Nasir-i Khosraw's description may show that this was not the case.
19 See p. 27, n. 34.
20 On Godfrey's donation see Delaville Le Roulx, *Cart. Gén.*, no. 1. On the donation of Baldwin see Albert of Aachen, p. 553.
21 *Cart. Gén.*, nos 25, 29.
22 The connection of the hospital to St John is recorded by the Anglo-Saxon traveller Saewulf, who visited the city in 1102–3: 'Iuxta quam est hospitale, ubi monasterium habetur preclarum in honore sancti Iohannis Baptistae dedicatum' (lines 267–9, p. 67). On the bell-tower see C. Schick 1902, p. 48. Folda believes that the Church of St John the Baptist was a separate church built by the Crusaders; Folda, *Art of the Crusades*, p. 278.
23 Schick, 'Muristan', p. 47.
24 Riley-Smith, *Knights of St John*, p. 247.
25 Regarding the hospital, churches, bathhouse and stables see pp. 121–5, 156–60, 162, 164. The hospital granary is referred to in the statutes of Fr. Jobert (1172–1177). See E. King, *Rule, Statutes and Customs of the Hospitallers 1099–1310*, London 1934, p. 30.
26 Benjamin of Tudela, p. 22.
27 Schick, 'Muristan', pp. 50, 53.
28 Riley-Smith, *Knights of St John*, p. 247.
29 This was one of the measures recorded above that were taken to alleviate the demographic crisis that resulted from the elimination of most of the indigenous population in 1099. See p. 14.
30 Bresc-Bautier, no. 169; *Regesta*, no. 421.
31 Other Eastern Christian churches (St Chariton, St George in the Market and St Jacob of the Jacobites) located in the Patriarch's Quarter, probably dated from the pre-Crusader period, when that area was occupied by Syrian Christians.
32 Bahat, *Topography and Toponomy*, pp. 9–10 (English abstract).
33 See the brief discussion, ibid., p. 102.
34 William of Tyre, 8.20.
35 See p. 38.
36 V. Azarya, *The Armenian Quarter of Jerusalem. Urban Life Behind Monastery Walls*, Berkeley, Los Angeles and London 1984, p. 60.
37 John of Würzburg, p. 126; English transl. *PPTS* 5, p. 41.
38 Ibid., p. 133. Regarding the founding of this establishment see *Regesta*, no. 214 'Coelestinus papa II Raymundo, magistro Hospitalis S. Johannis, mandat, ut ipsius ejusque successorum oboedientiae novum hospitale, ad susceptionem Theutonicorum Hierosolymis constructum, subjaceat et omnino permaneat, sed de gente Theutonicorum prior et servientes constituantur.'
39 *La Citez*, p. 196; English transl. *PPTS* 6, p. 12.
40 *Cart. Gén.*, nos 154, 155 above, n. 38.
41 *Survey of Western Palestine*, p. 272.

42 The Survey was carried out by Asher Ovadiah and Ehud Netzer. See Asher Ovadiah, 'A Crusader Church in the Jewish Quarter of the old city of Jerusalem', *EI* 1973, pp. 208–12 (Hebrew), English summary p. 29; See also Meir Ben-Dov, 'The Restoration of St. Mary's Church of the German Knights in Jerusalem', pp. 140–2, in Yoram Tsafrir (ed.), *Ancient Churches Revealed*, Jerusalem 1993.
43 Ovadiah 1973, p. 212. See also Ronnie Reich, 'Hellenistic to Medieval Strata 6–1', in Hillel Geva (ed.), *Jewish Quarter Excavations in the Old City of Jerusalem conducted by Nahman Avigad, 1969–1982*, vol. 1, *Architecture and Stratigraphy: Areas A, W and X-2*, Jerusalem 2000, pp. 102–5, Plan 2.6, Photos 2.70, 2.104.
44 For a discussion of changes in attitude to the Temple Mount see Silvia Schein 'Between Mount Moriah and the Holy Sepulchre: The Changing Traditions of the Temple Mount in the Central Middle Ages', *Traditio* 40, 1984, pp. 175–95.
45 The evidence for the existence of the latter temple is problematic. See F. Peters, *Jerusalem*, p. 130.
46 Schein, 'Between Mount Moriah and the Holy Sepulchre', p. 175.
47 According to Benjamin Kedar its construction was attributed to an ancient Christian emperor; Benjamin Z. Kedar, 'Intellectual Activities', pp. 127–39, in Kedar and Werblowsky (eds), *Sacred Space*, p. 129.
48 Indeed both John of Würzburg and Theoderich refer to it as Solomon's palace; John of Würzburg p. 134; Theodericus 17, p. 164. These identifications were useful and were probably accepted by many, but evidently there were some, such as Fulcher of Chartres, who were aware that these were not the buildings built by Solomon; Fulcher of Chartres, I.26.5, 10.
49 Wilkinson (ed.), *Jerusalem Pilgrimage*, pp. 44–5.
50 Al-Idrîsî, 225. A Muslim Arab from the court of Roger II in Sicily, al-Idrîsî's account is probably second hand.
51 Anonymous Pilgrim VII, pp. 71–2.
52 Theodericus, 17, p. 164.
53 Ibid.
54 Ibid., p. 165.
55 Ibid. Part of the structure has survived and now functions as the Islamic Museum.
56 Ibid., 18, p. 166.
57 Benjamin of Tudela, p. 22.
58 John of Würzburg, pp. 134–5.
59 Theodericus, 17, p. 165. In 1890 Aubrey Stewart, who translated the *PPTS* version of John of Würzburg, wrote that the foundations of the apse were still to be seen (in 1890) outside the east side of the al-Aqsa Mosque; *PPTS* 5, 1890, p. 21, n. 2. C.M. Watson (*The Story of Jerusalem*, London and New York 1918) also mentions the foundations to the east of the mosque (p. 191). Today nothing can be seen of this apse or of any remains of the church.
60 This is possibly the 'cradle' still shown which is in fact part of a sarcophagus.
61 John of Würzburg, p. 134.
62 Theodericus, 17, p. 165.

CHAPTER 11: OUTSIDE THE WALLS

1 Prawer, 'Crusader Cities, p. 182
2 Monasteries inside the city relied on high walls for isolation from the worldly surroundings.
3 See pp. 56–60.

4 Frenkel, 'Political and Social Aspects', p. 8. This is possibly the bathhouse exposed in excavations inside the city walls in the 1970s. See N. Avigad, *Discovering Jerusalem*, p. 250. See p. 162.
5 See, p. 173.
6 Clermont-Ganneau, *Archaeological Researches*, pp. 276–7.
7 See F.J. Bliss and A.C. Dickie, *Excavations at Jerusalem*, London 1898, pp. 68–77 and Clermont-Ganneau, *Archaeological Researches*, pp. 276–9. Regarding the tombstone see p. 183.
8 See p. 173.
9 See pp. 185–7
10 Joshua 15:7.
11 The New Testament is not specific about the location of this event, merely stating that Stephen was cast out of the city and stoned; Acts 7:58.
12 See pp. 174–5.
13 The pilgrim Antoninus (*c.* 570) describes the basilica as located near St Stephen's Gate and the road leading to the coast; Antoninus Martyr, p. 21. At that time the northern city gate (modern Damascus Gate) led to the road to Jaffa. See C.W. Wilson, Appendix I, 'The Church of St Stephen', *PPTS* 4, 1895, p. 85, n. 1.
14 *La Citez*, p. 200.
15 Wilbrandus de Oldenborg, *Peregrinatio*, in J.C.M. Laurent (ed.), *Peregrinatores Medii Aevi Quatuor*, Leipzig 1864, pp. 184–5.
16 See *Survey of Western Palestine*, p. 387.
17 These may have been domestic buildings or stables.
18 See p. 164.
19 P. Dunkel, 'Excavations at Jerusalem', transl. J.E. Hanauer, *PEFQS* 1902, pp. 403–5. See p. 187.
20 This building has never been discussed at length but will be described in a forthcoming publication by Misgav Har-Peled.
21 According to *La Citez* (p. 200): 'A main destre de la porte Saint Estevene estoit le Maladrerie de Jherusalem tenant as murs. Tenant à le Maladrerie avoit une posterne c'on apeloit le Posterne Saint Ladre.'
22 Levy, 'Medieval Maps', p. 426.
23 Theodericus 26, p. 173.
24 *La Citez*, p. 200.
25 *Regesta*, nos 136, 227, 259, 266, 397, 487, 628 and 656.
26 A decree of the Lateran Council of 1179 under Pope Alexander III instructed that a leper should be isolated from others and should not share their church or be buried with them.
27 Bahat, *NEAEHL*, p. 796. The tooled ashlars seem to rule out the latter option, unless they were in secondary use. It has been suggested that remains of foundations of a building discovered in the grounds of Notre Dame de France, north of the New Gate may have belonged to the lepers' hospital; Wightman 1993, p. 263, n. 23. However, according to D. Bahat, there is no evidence that this was in fact a medieval building (Personal communication).
28 *Regesta*, nos 284, 303, 308 and see above, p. 29.
29 Benjamin Z. Kedar, 'Gerard of Nazareth. A Neglected Twelfth-Century Writer in the Latin East', *DOP* 37, 1983, p. 66.
30 Ibid., p. 66.
31 See pp. 183–4.
32 *Regesta*, no. 469. A building, not definitely a church, is shown in this area on the Cambrai map.

33 Fretellus (p. 40) mentions the Fish Pool of the Fuller south of the Siloam Pool. Also, see pp. 52–3, n. 75.
34 Bresc-Bautier, nos 26, 42, 45; *Regesta*, no. 74; Add. no 74. For a map of these villages see Denys Pringle, 'Magna Mahumeria (al-Bîra): the Archaeology of a Frankish New Town in Palestine', in Peter W. Edbury (ed.), *Crusade and Settlement. Papers Read at the First Conference of the Society for the Study of the Crusades and the Latin East and presented to R.C. Smail*, Cardiff 1985, p. 148, Figure 1.
35 See previous note.
36 Bellarmino Bagatti, *Emmaus-Qubeibeh*, transl. R. Bonnano, Jerusalem 1993.
37 Excavations of houses around the *curia* at al-Bîra were carried out during the British Mandate but were never published. Denys Pringle published a detailed study of the village based on a survey carried out by the British School of Archaeology in Jerusalem; Pringle 1985, pp. 147–68. Excavations of al-Kurûm were carried out by Alexander Onn in 1992 and by Adrian Boas in 1994 on behalf of the Israel Antiquities Authority. See Alexander Onn and Yehuda Rapuano, 'Khirbet el-Burj', *ESI* 14, 1994, pp. 88–90; Adrian J. Boas, 'A Recently Discovered Frankish Village at Ramot-Allon, Jerusalem', pp. 583–94, in M. Balard (ed.), *Autour de la Première Croisade*.
38 On Har Hozevim see Raz Kletter, 'Jerusalem, Har Hozevim', *ESI* 15, 1996, pp. 70–1; Natalya May, 'Jerusalem, Har Hozevim', *ESI* 19, 1999, pp. 56–8. Clepsta has undergone only cursory examination and has not been published. On Aqua Bella see Denys Pringle, 'Aqua Bella: The Interpretation of a Crusader Courtyard Building', in B.Z. Kedar (ed.), *Horns of Hattin*, pp. 147–67; Denys Pringle, *The Churches of the Crusader Kingdom of Jerusalem*, vol. 1, Cambridge 1993, pp. 239–50.

CHAPTER 12: THE CHURCHES AND MONASTERIES

1 Pringle, 'Crusader Jerusalem', p. 108. The third volume of Denys Pringle's monumental *Churches of the Crusader Kingdom of Jerusalem*, which includes the churches of Jerusalem, is now approaching publication.
2 See Dan Bahat, 'The Physical Infrastructure', in Joshua Prawer and Haggai Ben-Shammai (eds), *History of Jerusalem. The Early Muslim Period 638–1099*, Jerusalem 1996, p. 59.
3 Nasir-i Khosraw, pp. 37–8.
4 Daniel, pp. 11–15.
5 Fretellus, p. 2.
6 Fretellus, p. 2.
7 Al-Idrîsî, p. 32.
8 A realistic illustration of the belfry when it still retained its five storeys, only lacking the cupola, can be seen on an engraving dating to before the restoration of 1809, located in the National Library, Paris. See E.O. James, *Jerusalem. A History*, London 1967, p. 233.
9 De Vogüé 1860 (1973), p. 207.
10 Al-Idrîsî, p. 224.
11 Ibid., p. 223.
12 *La Citez*, p. 192; English transl. *PPTS* 6, p. 6.
13 Al-Idrsî, p. 223.
14 Ibid., p. 223–4.
15 For a particularly interesting discussion see Martin Biddle, *The Tomb of Christ*, Stroud, Gloucestershire 1999, chapter 5 ('The Crusaders and the Holy Sepulchre in the Twelfth Century'), pp. 89–98. See also J. Folda, *Art of the Crusades*, pp. 79–82.

16 It has been suggested that some very fine pieces of carved panels in the collection of the Franciscan Museum may have come from the aedicule, but this is mere speculation. See Virgilio Corbo, *Il Santo Sepulcro di Gerusalemme*, Jerusalem 1981, vol. 1, p. 199; vol. 3, Photos 178–88.
17 Daniel, p. 13.
18 Ibid., pp. 80–1.
19 Actually a transenna existed earlier and is recorded by Daniel in 1105–6: 'This sacred rock, which all Christians kiss, can be seen through three small round openings on one side'; ibid., p. 12. Also, according to Theoderich there were three holes in the side, through which the pilgrims could kiss the holy stone; Theodericus 5, p. 148.
20 For Patriarch William's seal see Gustave Schlumberger, *Sigillographie de l'Orient Latin*, Paris 1943, Plate I,8.
21 Theodericus 5, pp. 147–8.
22 Shirley 1999, p. 64.
23 Gabrieli 1969, p. 162. This may have been done to pre-empt the Muslims who would probably have taken the treasures had they been left in the church.
24 Saewulf, Appendix II, p. 99.
25 See J. Folda, *Art of the Crusades*, p. 233–9.
26 Theodericus 12, p. 155.
27 Daniel, pp. 19–20. Like another eastern traveller, Joannes Phocas, Daniel calls the church 'Church of the Holy of Holies'. This is the earliest reference to the Muslim shrine as a church.
28 Kedar, 'Intellectual Activities', p. 129.
29 Fulcher of Chartres, I.26.5.
30 Daniel, pp. 20–1.
31 Wilkinson, *Jerusalem Pilgrimage*, p. 41, n. 7.
32 The covering of the rock is dated by Fulcher of Chartres to this period. He writes: 'In the middle of the Temple, when we first entered in 1100, and for fifteen years thereafter, was a certain native rock.' Fulcher of Chartres, I.26.7.
33 Ibid., I.26.9.
34 Both the iron grille and the candelabra survived in the Dome of the Rock until the restorations carried out in the 1960s, when they were removed to the cellars of the al-Aqsa Mosque. Parts of the beautiful French Romanesque style grille are reported to have been sold as scrap iron. One section of the grille and the two candelabra are now located in the Islamic Museum on the Temple Mount. The grille was probably placed in the church in the 1140s and is mentioned in a pilgrim's account of 1150. See T.S.R. Boase, 'Mosaic, Painting, and Minor Arts', in K. Setton 1977, p. 138; J. Folda, *Art of the Crusades*, p. 136; Adrian J. Boas, *Crusader Archaeology. The Material Culture of the Latin East*, London, New York 1999, pp. 156–7.
35 Theodericus, 15, p. 161.
36 Remains of these frescoes were uncovered during repairs carried out in 1873; Conder, *City of Jerusalem*, p. 300. The inscriptions were described in detail by John of Würzburg and Theoderich; John of Würzburg, pp. 90–1; Theodericus, pp. 159–62.
37 John of Würzburg, p. 94.
38 William of Tyre, 15.18.
39 Al-Muqaddasi, p. 45.
40 William of Tyre, 8.23; John of Würzburg, p. 94.
41 An inscription was placed on the interior of the drum recording the renewal of the gilding of the dome by Saladin: 'In the name of God merciful and pitying. Has commanded the renewal of the gilding of this noble dome our lord the sultan, the conquering king, the wise, the just, Salah ed-Din Yusef'; Conder, *City of Jerusalem*, p. 313.

42 John of Würzburg, p. 96.
43 Al-Idrîsî, p. 33.
44 Theodericus 14, p. 159.
45 Benjamin of Tudela records this, p. 24.
46 Fretellus, p. 4.
47 The dimensions are from E. Eisenberg, 'Jerusalem. Church of the Dormition', *ESI* 3, 1984, p. 47.
48 Phocas, p. 17.
49 Fretellus, p. 4.
50 Ibid.
51 'the table is there remaining even unto the present day', Al-Idrîsî, p. 226.
52 Theodericus 22, p. 168.
53 Raymond d'Aguilers, pp. 138–9.
54 Benjamin of Tudela, pp. 24–5.
55 In his description Theoderich refers to the middle apse (*media abside*); Theodericus 22, p. 168.
56 Ibid., 22, p. 168.
57 Al-Idrîsî, p. 34.
58 Phocas, p. 17.
59 Excavations of the fortified Premonstratensian monastery of Montjoie have recently been published in Hebrew: Yitzik Magen and Michael Dadon, 'Nebi Samwîl (Shmuel Hanavi-Har Hasimha)', *Qadmoniot* 32. 2 (118), 1999, pp. 62–77.
60 Phocas, pp. 17–18.
61 Levy, 'Medieval Maps'.
62 *La Citez*, p. 190. Alternatively it is another example of the author of *La Citez* jumping back and forth in time between the situation as it was under the Franks and as it was when he wrote the work during the period of Ayyubid rule.
63 *La Citez*, English transl. *PPTS* 6, p. 38.
64 Excavations by E. Eisenberg in 1983 uncovered part of the western side of the basilica (the north-western corner and a section of the northern wall) which was 2.2 m thick. A section of the floor was exposed, constructed of marble and possibly also of mosaic; Eisenberg, 'Jerusalem. Church of the Dormition', p. 47.
65 Hugh Plommer, 'The Cenacle on Mount Sion', in J. Folda, *Crusader Art*, pp. 139, 143.
66 Ibid., p. 141. As there are no similar buildings in the city it is perhaps more likely that the structure is late.
67 Camille Enlart, *Les monuments des croisés dans le royaume de Jérusalem: architecture religieuse et civile*, vol. 2, Paris 1928, p. 250.
68 Ibid., p. 250.
69 Plommer, 'Cenacle', p. 145.
70 De Vogüé, 'Les Églises', p. 329.
71 Enlart, *Les monuments*, p. 246.
72 Pringle, 'Crusader Jerusalem', p. 108.
73 Virgilio Corbo, *Ricerche Archeologiche al Monte Degli Ulivi*, Jerusalem 1965, pp. 115–25.
74 K.A.C. Cresswell believed that the Byzantine Church of the Ascension was octagonal and it influenced the design of the Dome of the Rock. See K.A.C. Cresswell, *Early Muslim Architecture*, part I, vol. 1, Oxford 1969, p. 107. See Bianca Kühnel, 'The Date of the Crusader Church of the Ascension on the Mount of Olives', in B.Z. Kedar (ed.), *Jerusalem in the Middle Ages. Selected Papers*, (Hebrew), Jerusalem 1979, p. 333 and Kühnel, *Crusader Art*, pp. 30–2.

75 Sophronius writes: 'Let me enter the holy Probatica, where the all-renowned Anna bore Mary', quoted in J. Wilkinson, *Jerusalem Pilgrims*, p. 92.
76 John 5:1–9.
77 Hiyari, 'Crusader Jerusalem', p. 136.
78 Fretellus, p. 4.
79 Dan Bahat, 'À propos de l'église des "Sept-Douleurs"', *RB* 85, 1978, Plate 4 (opposite p. 82). Architectural fragments of the cloister survive. See L. Vincent and F. Abel, *Jérusalem nouvelle*, Figures 312 and 313.
80 Bahat, 'Sept-Douleurs' Figures 1, 2a and 2b.
81 H. Vincent was perhaps unaware of this when he wrote in praise of Mauss's 'respect admirable de son antique physionomie'; H. Vincent, 'Mélanges. La Crypte de Sainte Anne à Jérusalem', *RB* 13, 1904, p. 228. Although fundamentally the reconstruction appears to be reliable, the belfry also has little in common with that of the Crusader period.
82 See below, n. 85.
83 Bahat, 'Sept-Douleurs', Figures 1, 2a and 2b and below, n. 5.
84 The belfry of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre had a polygonal dome.
85 This minaret can be seen in illustrations of the church from 1860, prior to its restoration. See N. Van der Vliet, *'Sainte Marie où elle est née' et la Piscine Probatique*, Jerusalem, Paris 1938, p. 61, Figures 30 and 31. It does not appear in earlier illustrations, including that of Catherwood dated 1820.
86 The loss of the wall decoration is one aspect of this simplicity. There is also remarkably little and only very modest architectural sculpture. Mickey Ehrlich (personal communication) suggests that the austerity of the decoration probably resulted from the conversion of the church by Saladin into a Muslim law college.
87 Albert Storme, *Gethsemane*, Jerusalem, 1972, pp. 90–1.
88 Arculf, p. 17.
89 Saewulf, p. 69; Daniel, p. 24.
90 John of Würzburg, pp. 127–8.
91 Theodericus 23, pp. 169–70. Michael Piccirillo published a reconstruction of the aedicule on the basis of a careful study of the written sources, the *in situ* remains and the finds from work carried out by Bagatti to restore the structure after a flood in the church in 1972. Michael Piccirillo, 'The Chamber-Tomb of Mary in the Crusader Period', in B. Bagatti *et al*., *New Discoveries at the Tomb of Virgin Mary in Gethsemane*, Jerusalem 1975, pp. 59–82.
92 Theodericus, 23, p. 170.
93 William of Tyre, 18.32. It was later rededicated to Mary's parents, Anne and Joachim. The tomb is described in detail by A. Prodomo, 'The Tomb of Queen Melisenda', in Bagatti *et al*., *New Discoveries*, pp. 83–93.
94 Albert of Aachen, pp. 520–1, 625.
95 See pp. 180–83.
96 C.N. Johns, 'The Abbey of St. Mary in the Valley of Jehoshaphat, Jerusalem', *QDAP* 8, 1939, pp. 117–36, Plates LVII–LX.
97 Felix Fabri, p. 467.
98 Theodericus, 23, p. 170.
99 Burchardus, p. 67; Marino Sanudo, p. 45.
100 Pierotti wrote 'It is then, beyond all question, an ancient Jewish tomb', Pierotti, *Jerusalem Explored*, p. 170. See B. Bagatti, 'The Necropolis', in B. Bagatti *et al*., *New Discoveries*, pp. 19–47.
101 See C. Schick, 'Letters from Herr Schick' (1892), pp. 50–3.
102 For descriptions of the lower church see Archibald C. Dickie, 'The Lower Church of St

John, Jerusalem', *PEFQS* 31, 1899, pp. 43–5; D. Pringle 'Church Building in Palestine Before the Crusades', in J. Folda, *Crusader Art*, p. 27, Figure 1.9, Plate 1.6a.

103 Schick, 'Letters' (1892) p. 52. He notes that the church is shown on the Cambrai map with a bell tower.

104 See p. 198.

105 The latter, constructed of large, fairly coarsely worked limestone ashlars, was exposed in December 1999 and has been covered with a glass-tile floor so that it can still be observed.

106 See the eighteenth-century drawing by the Franciscan E. Horn, *Ichnographiae. Locorum et Monumentorum Veterum Terrae Sanctae (1724–44)*, Rome 1902, p. 131. Engravings of the northern portal and the southern apse were published in Pierotti 1864, vol. 2, Plates 37 and 38. See Felix Bonfils' photograph of the cloister, republished in Ely Schiller, *The First Photographs of Jerusalem and the Holy Land*, Jerusalem 1980, p. 90b.

107 Wilkinson (ed.), *Jerusalem Pilgrimage*, p. 28.

108 *Survey of Western Palestine*, p. 254.

109 See p. 19.

110 This is typical of the degradation of Crusader churches in the Ottoman period when the church of St Anne and the church of St Jerome in Abu Ghosh were turned into stables. The particularly repulsive smell of the tannery made the entire area around the church of the Holy Sepulchre unpleasant.

111 See M. de Vogüé, *Les Églises*, 1860, pp. 255–62.

112 Anonymous Pilgrim II, p. 7.

113 Pierotti, *Jerusalem Explored*, p. 132. Pierotti believed the church and its conventual buildings to be 'too contracted and insignificant to be of the period of the Crusaders, who undoubtedly built the great entrance gateway, and perhaps restored the church'.

114 See p. 87.

115 *Survey of Western Palestine*, p. 254. They described the style as Gothic, though it is decidedly Romanesque.

116 Amongst others who identify it with St Mary Major see for example George Williams, *The Holy City. Historical, Topographical, and Antiquarian Notices of Jerusalem*, London 1849, Supplement p. 18.

117 Wilkinson (ed.), *Jerusalem Pilgrimage*, p. 28.

118 See Schick's plans of the two churches in C. Schick, 'Muristan', plan opposite p. 48. Some very fine architectural sculpture taken from the ruins in the nineteenth century is now on display in the Greek Orthodox Patriarchate Museum.

119 Schick, 'Letters' (1892), p. 52.

120 See p. 89, Figure 10.2. The hospice adjacent to the church, and perhaps the church as well, were known in the nineteenth century. See *Survey of Western Palestine*, p. 272.

121 On the latter, see p. 160.

122 Asher Ovadiah, 'A Crusader Church in the Jewish Quarter of the Old City of Jerusalem', in Tsafrir, *Ancient Churches*, pp. 136–8. Ben-Dov reconstructed the church with a single door to the west and windows on either side. He refers to a single door in the northern wall; Meir Ben-Dov, 'The Restoration of St Mary's Church of the German Knights in Jerusalem', in Y. Tsafrir, *Ancient Churches*, pp. 140–2.

123 *Survey of Western Palestine*, p. 272.

124 Dan Bahat and Ronny Reich, 'Une église médiévale dans le quartier juif de Jérusalem,' *RB* 93, 1986, pp. 111–14; Dan Bahat, 'Recently-Discovered Crusader Churches in Jerusalem', in Y. Tsafrir, *Ancient Churches*, pp. 123–4; Bahat, 'Jerusalem', p. 799.

125 See Plate 1 in Bahat and Reich, 1986.

126 Klaus and Sabine Bieberstein, 'St. Thomas Alemannorum oder St. Peter ad vincula? Zur

historischen Identifizierung einer wiederentdeckten Kreuzfahrerkirche in der Altstadt Jerusalems', *ZDPV* 104, 1988, pp. 152–61.

127 On the church of St Peter ad Vincula see p. 129.

128 Acts 12:2.

129 Folda, *Art of the Crusaders*, p. 249.

130 John of Würzburg, p. 133.

131 For a plan see Conrad Schick, 'Old Churches in Jerusalem', *PEFQS* 1895, p. 324

132 Vincent and Abel, *Jérusalem nouvelle*, pp. 950–1.

133 John of Würzburg, p. 137; English transl. *PPTS* 5, p. 48. Theoderich adds that the saint's bones were covered with flesh as though he were alive; Theodericus 26, p. 173.

134 John of Würzburg, p. 133.

135 Avigad, *Discovering Jerusalem*, p. 250, Plates 295–7.

136 Dan Bahat, 'Recently Discovered Crusader Churches in Jerusalem', in Y. Tsafrir, *Ancient Churches*, p. 124.

137 Ibid., pp. 125–6.

138 Klaus Bieberstein, 'St. Julian oder St. Johannes Evangelista? Zur historischen Identifizierung einer neuentdeckten Kreuzfahrerkirche in der Altstadt Jerusalems', *ZDPV* 103, 1987, pp. 178–84.

139 Bahat, personal communication. See *La Citez*, p. 206.

140 See M. de Vogüé, *Les Églises*, pp. 291–96; Vincent and Abel, *Jérusalem nouvelle*, p. 991–92.

141 Bresc-Bautier, p. 258; John of Würzburg, p. 111.

142 Ibid.

143 E. Cerulli, *Etiopi in Palestina*, vol. 1, Rome 1943, p. 11.

144 Pierotti, *Jerusalem Explored*, pp. 149–50.

145 Vincent and Abel, *Jérusalem nouvelle*, Figure 418.

146 Pierotti, *Jerusalem Explored*, p. 148.

147 Dan Bahat, 'The Church of Mary Magdalene and its Quarter', *EI* 18, 1985, pp. 5–7 (Hebrew).

148 Bahat, 'Recently Discovered Churches', p. 127. He concludes that there is consequently no need to position the postern of Mary Magdalene as far south as it is sometimes shown, and suggests that it may have been on the site of modern Herod's Gate.

149 Bahat, *NEAEHL*, 1993, p. 798.

150 Levy, 'Medieval Maps', p. 426; *La Citez*, p. 192.

151 Conrad Schick, 'Mar Metri: or the Greek Convent of St Demetrius at Jerusalem', *PEFQS* 1900, p. 256.

152 Claude R. Conder, 'Jerusalem. Newly Discovered Church', *PEFQS* 1882, pp. 116–19. The excavations uncovered a limestone slab, apparently from an altar, with the twelve Apostles painted in arches on either side of the central figure of Christ. This stone is still kept at St Etienne, but unfortunately the figures have almost completely faded away. In fact they were already fading in 1891 (T. Hayter Lewis, 'Ruins of Church on the Skull Hill, Jerusalem', *PEFQS* 1891, p. 211). See a reconstruction of the altar in L. Vincent and F. Abel, *Jérusalem nouvelle*, p. 770.

153 Wilbrandus de Oldenborg, *Peregrinatio*, in J. Laurent (ed.), Leipzig 1964, pp. 184–5.

154 See *Survey of Western Palestine*, p. 96 and p. 387.

155 See p. 96.

156 The author of *La Citez* described the *Asnerie* (the Hospitallers' stables) as being a large building located in front of the church of St Stephen on its left; *La Citez*, p. 200. If the small chapel is indeed the Crusader church then *La Citez* seems to be referring to these

vaults rather than to the area to the south, in the site now known as 'Gordon's Tomb' or the 'Garden Tomb' generally considered to be the *Asnerie*; see discussion p. 164.

157 Fretellus, p. 4.

158 Conrad Schick, 'Letters from Herr Baurath Von Schick. II. St. Martin's Church at Jerusalem', *PEFQS* 1893, p. 285.

159 Quoted from J. E. Hanauer, 'The Churches of St Martin and St John the Evangelist', *PEFQS* 1893, p. 302.

160 See Elchanan Reiner, 'The Jewish Neighbourhood in Jerusalem after the Crusader Period' in Yossi Ben Artzi *et al.* (eds), *Studies in Geography and History in Honour of Yehoshu'a Ben-Arieh* (Hebrew), Jerusalem 1999, p. 287.

161 See David Cassuto, 'The Identification of the Ramban Synagogue in Jerusalem', in A.M. Rabello (ed.), *Studies in Jerusalem. Jubilee Volume presented to David Kotlar* (Hebrew), Tel-Aviv 1975, pp. 278–302.

162 Fretellus, p. 3.

163 *La Citez*, p. 207.

164 Jaroslav Folda, 'Three Crusader Capitals in Jerusalem', *Levant* 10, 1978, pp. 39–55; 'A Fourth Capital in the Chapel of the Repose in Jerusalem', *Levant* 15, 1983, pp. 194–5; *Art of the Crusaders*, p. 318. For a plan see L. Vincent and F. Abel, *Jérusalem nouvelle* (1922), Plate LIX, A.1–2.

165 Three of these are now located at the nearby al-Ghawânimah minaret, the fourth at the Islamic Museum. See J. Folda, *Art of the Crusaders*, Plates 8B.21c–8B.21f and L. Vincent and F. Abel, *Jérusalem nouvelle* (1922), Plate LIX B.1–3.

166 St John the Evangelist was recorded in *La Citez*, p. 206. It was owned by the nuns of Bethany, and they occupied the hospice there when their monastery was in danger of attack. See J.E. Hanauer, 'The Churches of St Martin and St John the Evangelist', *PEFQS* 1893, pp. 304–5. A comprehensive study of all of Jerusalem's Crusader churches, both those surviving or in ruins and those known only from written sources, will shortly appear in the third volume of *The Churches of the Crusader Kingdom of Jerusalem* (Cambridge) compiled by Denys Pringle.

167 Levy, 'Medieval Maps', p. 426. The *Manus Absalom* is a Second Temple period rock-cut monument still known as Absalom's Tomb.

168 John of Würzburg, p. 110; English transl. *PPTS* 5, p. 51.

169 Theodericus, 3, p. 145; English transl. *PPTS* 5, p. 5. Probably this abbot was from the nearby Benedictine abbey of St Mary in Jehoshaphat. Hermits could come from all walks of life. Amongst them was a wealthy western baron named Radulph; Richard, *The Crusades*, p. 118.

170 See Benjamin Z. Kedar, 'Gerard of Nazareth. A Neglected Twelfth-Century Writer in the Latin East', *DOP* 37, 1983, p. 68.

171 Richard, *The Crusades*, p. 118.

CHAPTER 13: STREETS AND SQUARES

1 Bresc-Bautier, nos 36, 40.

2 The standard width of streets in Byzantine Jerusalem was 5.4 m; Magen Broshi, 'Standards of Street Widths in the Roman-Byzantine Period', *IEJ* 27, 1977, p. 232. By the twelfth century any streets that had originally been wider than this, such as the *Cardo* which was originally 22 m wide, had been reduced in size or sub-divided into more than one narrow lane.

3 Alternatively, pack animals including the camel, several hundred of which were kept in

the Templars' stables on the Temple Mount (see p. 163) largely replaced the use of carts in the Byzantine and Early Arab periods (fourth to eighth centuries). See Hugh Kennedy, 'From *Polis* to *Medina*: Urban Change in Late Antique and Early Islamic Syria', *Past and Present* 106, 1985, p. 26. Possibly this remained true in the Crusader period. Pack animals could easily negotiate the winding and stepped streets of the city.

4 Theodericus, 3, p. 146; English transl. *PPTS* 5, p. 5.
5 In recent years some of the ancient pavements have been rediscovered in excavations and raised to the modern surface.
6 As previously noted, the principal difficulty with this source is that it is sometimes difficult to understand whether the 'head' of a street (*cief*) refers to the near end or the far end. A misinterpretation of the meaning can distort the entire description.
7 See M. Levy, 'Medieval Maps', p. 426. On this map the route from *Mons Gaudi* to David's Gate is not shown.
8 *La Citez*, p. 202.
9 Broshi, 'Standards of Street Widths', Figure 1:2a–c.
10 *La Citez*, pp. 192.
11 See pp. 143–4.
12 Bresc-Bautier, nos 168, 169. The names of both sections of the east–west thoroughfare are interchangeable: in some cases David Street is described as leading from *Porta David* to *Porta Speciosa*, while on the round maps the entire street is known as *Vicus ad Templum Domini*.
13 *La Citez*, pp. 196–7; English transl. *PPTS* 6, p. 12.
14 Michael Hamilton Burgoyne, *Mamluk Jerusalem*, London 1987, p. 479.
15 See the illustration in ibid., Fig. 29.11.
16 The ownership mark of the Templars is a circle containing the letter 'T'. Elsewhere it appears as a triangle containing an inverted 'T' (Plate 13.1) or simply as a large 'T' on its own.
17 *La Citez*, p. 192; English transl. *PPTS* 6, p. 5.
18 On this tower see pp. 58–60.
19 Wightman, *The Walls*, p. 262, n. 15.
20 See J. Delaville Le Roulx, *Les Archives la Bibliothèque et le Trésor de L'Ordre de Sainte-Jean de Jérusalem a Malte*, Paris 1883, no. 47.
21 *La Citez*, p. 192; English transl. *PPTS* 6, p. 6.
22 *Regesta*, no. 516.
23 Bresc-Bautier, no. 169; also on the round maps in M. Levy, 'Medieval Maps'.
24 *La Citez*, pp. 200–1; English transl. *PPTS* 6, p. 17.
25 *Regesta* no. 421; Bresc-Bautier, no. 168. See the map in L. Vincent and F. Abel, *Jérusalem nouvelle*, Plate 86.
26 *La Citez*, pp. 192–3; English transl. *PPTS* 6, p. 6.
27 Ibid., p. 201; English transl. *PPTS* 6, p. 18.
28 *Regesta*, no. 534.
29 For example, the Venerable Bede locates it on a bridge or fountain west of David's Gate, probably the aqueduct bringing water from the Mamilla Pool to Hezekiah's Pool inside the city; Bede, p. 74. According to the Piacenza pilgrim (*c.* AD 570), Judas hanged himself from a fig tree in an olive grove outside the Golden Gate; C. Milani, *Itinerarium Antonini Placentini, Un viaggio in Terra Santa del 560–570 d.C.*, Milan 1977, pp. 140–1.
30 *La Citez*, pp. 201–1; *PPTS* 6, pp. 18–19.
31 Levy, 'Medieval Maps', p. 426.
32 See p. 131.
33 *Regesta*, no. 421; Bresc-Bautier, no. 168.

34 Vincent and Abel, *Jérusalem nouvelle*, 1926, p. 965; *Regesta*, no. 651.
35 Ibid., no. 421; Bresc-Bautier, nos 168, 169. See Prawer *Crusader Institutions*, p. 98.
36 William of Tyre, 14.18.
37 *La Citez*, p. 196; English transl. *PPTS* 6, p. 12.
38 Levy, 'Medieval Maps', p. 468.
39 *Regesta*, nos 329, 431; *La Citez*, p. 196.
40 *Regesta*, no. 421; Bresc-Bautier, no. 168.
41 *Regesta*, no. 421; Bresc-Bautier, no. 168.
42 Ibid., nos 36, 40.
43 *Regesta*, no. 421; Bresc-Bautier, no. 169.
44 *Regesta*, no. 483.
45 Ibid.
46 Ibid., no. 651.
47 See Dan Bahat, 'The Physical Layout', in J. Prawer and H. Ben-Shammai (eds), *The History of Jerusalem. Early Muslim Period*, Jerusalem 1987, p. 59.
48 Fretellus, p. 41.
49 See p. 152.
50 *Regesta*, nos 130, 223; Bresc-Bautier, nos 33, 36.
51 The French *Continuation* of William of Tyre, 7, in *The Conquest of Jerusalem and the Third Crusade*, ed. Peter W. Edbury, Aldershot, Hampshire 1996, p. 16.

CHAPTER 14: MARKETS

1 *La Citez,* p. 192; English transl. *PPTS* 6, pp. 5–6.
2 See for example the photograph taken by John Cramb in 1860, published in Nissan N. Perez, *Focus East. Early Photography in the Near East 1839–1885*, New York and Jerusalem 1988, Plate 56.
3 *Regesta*, no. 431.
4 Because of the undesirability of living near a pig market (or, for that matter, any market selling livestock), it is quite likely that houses in this area were sold or rented at lower rates. In thirteenth-century Acre, houses located near the pig market (*Bacconeria*) in the Genoese quarter were among the cheaper properties to rent or purchase in the city. See C. Desimoni, 'Quatre titres des propriétés des Génois à Acre et à Tyr', *AOL*, vol. 2, pp. 217–19.
5 Levy, 'Medieval Maps, p. 426.
6 Schick, 'Muristan', p. 53.
7 Compare the size of these shops to those of the market streets to the east, which are usually no more than 4 metres square.
8 These units are not unlike the vaulted building in the northern half of Caesarea, which Pringle suggested might be the *cantina* (measuring 7.5 m by 16 m) of a merchant with living quarters above; Denys Pringle, *The Churches of the Crusader Kingdom of Jerusalem*, vol. 1, Cambridge 1993, pp. 182–3.
9 Bahat, *NEAEHL*, p. 796.
10 See Joshua Prawer, 'Geo-Ethnography of Crusader Jerusalem', in J. Prawer and H. Ben-Shammai (eds), *History of Jerusalem*, 1991, pp. 147–8, Map 1; Dan Bahat, *The Illustrated Atlas of Jerusalem*, Jerusalem 1990, p. 91.
11 *La Citez* p. 193; English transl. *PPTS* 6, p. 7.
12 Ibid., p. 193.

13 Conrad Schick, 'The Byzantine Pavement near the Church of the Holy Sepulchre', *PEFQS* 1888, pp. 17–20.
14 Ibid., p. 19.
15 Burgoyne 1987, pp. 479–80, Figure 47.2.
16 Ibid., p. 480, Figure 47.2, Plate 47.1, 2.
17 Ibid.
18 Ibid., pp. 327, 336, n. 18, Figures 29.2–3, 29.11.
19 Ibid., p. 336, n. 18; *La Citez* p. 196.
20 Ibid.
21 Ibid., p. 336, n. 18.
22 Ibid., p. 111, Figures 2.3, 2.4–5.
23 Burgoyne notes the presence of similar marks with a triangular shield and the 'T' reversed, found in the Bâb al-Silsila/Bâb al-Sakîna (Porta Speciosa), in the Mamluk pilgrim hospice, Ribât of 'Ala al-Dîn, on the Dâr al-Qur'ân al-Sallamiyya and one west of the Suq al-Lahhâmin. Another is to be found on the western side of the Street of Judas' Arch and a round shield similar to those on the Temple Street shops is on the small church of St Thomas in the Armenian quarter.
24 The entire breadth of the structure (the three streets and their shops) is equal to that of the ancient *Cardo* and illustrates the deterioration in the ancient urban planning whereby broad thoroughfares were encroached upon over time, and eventually built over, but still retained their original role.
25 Bresc-Bautier, no. 36.
26 These inscriptions are recorded on the thirteenth to seventeenth arches on the left-hand side of the street coming from the north (counting the entrance arch); Clermont-Ganneau, *Archaeological Researches*, pp. 117–18. Clermont-Ganneau suggested that there were probably more. Today only a few of those seen by Clermont-Ganneau are visible. A large 'T' can still be seen on the corner of the short passage joining this street to the parallel market to the east.
27 Indeed, an identical inscription can be seen on the Church of St Anne itself above the inscription of Saladin over the central portal.
28 See *L'Estoire d'Eracles empereur et la conquête de la Terre d'Outremer*, in *RHC Occ.*, vol. 1, p. 451.
29 Quoted from C. Clermont-Ganneau, *Archaeological Researches*, p. 122.
30 Mujîr al-Dîn's error apparently occurred because the name Street of Herbs, in the slightly different form of Suq al-'Attarin (Market of Druggists), moved from the western street to the central one after the Crusader period. Regarding the Templars, as noted above there are 'T's, alone or sometimes in circles or shields, on a number of buildings throughout the city. This marking of properties seems to have been quite a common practice. Other than the 'SCA ANNA' inscriptions and the Templar 'T's, there are also crosses on several buildings. Clermont-Ganneau notes a deed of 1174 which describes crosses carved on the walls of the Hospital of St John in Jerusalem: '*Signorum S. Crucis, quae in parietibus Hospitalis apparent pro meta*', Clermont-Ganneau 1899, p. 120. Some of these crosses are possibly masons' marks, as they appear to be in the case of the talus of David's Tower, or pilgrims' marks, as they are in the Holy Sepulchre and perhaps in the charnel house at Akeldama. However, in some cases they appear to be property ownership marks identifying buildings as belonging perhaps to the Church of the Holy Sepulchre.
31 Robinson, *Biblical Researches*, p. 166.
32 These medieval corbels are similar but not identical to those to be seen in the adjacent building now known as the Khân al-Sûltan.

33 *La Citez*, p. 201; English transl. *PPTS* 6, p. 18.
34 *Cart. Gén.*, nos 37, 249, 376; *Regesta*, nos 421, 431, 528; *La Citez*, pp. 196, 201.
35 *La Citez*, p. 201; English transl. *PPTS* 6, p. 18.
36 Ibid., p. 193.
37 Ibid., p. 201.
38 Felix Fabri, vol. II, p. 111.
39 Adler 1930, p. 237.
40 *La Citez*, p. 196.
41 See p. 177.
42 See photographs in C.R. Ashbee, *Jerusalem 1918–1920. Being the Records of the Pro-Jerusalem Council during the Period of the British Military Administration*, London 1921, Plates 12, 13.
43 J.E. Hanauer, *Walks About Jerusalem*, London 1910, p. 85.
44 Hanauer, *Walks About Jerusalem*, pp. 84–5. A photograph which shows the propped-up doors and the stone benches is published in Eli Schiller, *Jerusalem. Changes in Recent Generations* (Hebrew), Jerusalem, 1977, p. 123.
45 Clermont-Ganneau, *Archaeological Researches*, p. 229; Vincent and Abel, *Jérusalem nouvelle*, Fig. 403.
46 Avigad 1983, p. 248, Figure 291.
47 It has been suggested that this building is the street of shops built by Queen Melisende and referred to in the document of 1152 (Bahat, *NEAEHL*, p. 796) but this is unlikely. Pringle has compared this building to houses in Mount Zion Street mentioned in a document of the canons of the Holy Sepulchre dated 1143. These houses were above the vaults of the Hospitallers' exchange, which, in turn, were located above a bakery; Pringle, 'Crusader Jerusalem', p. 110.
48 *La Citez*, p. 193; *Survey of Western Palestine*, p. 61.
49 *La Citez*, p. 201; *Survey of Western Palestine*, p. 63.
50 In a Mamluk period source it was simply referred to as a *qaysariyya* (market). Burgoyne, *Mamluk Jerusalem*, p. 297, n. 1.
51 Ibid., p. 273. Bahat (personal communication) notes that the construction of the western part of the structure, notably the use of marginally-drafted ashlars on the street front, is not typical of the twelfth century, but this does not oppose Burgoyne's suggestion that this street may be one of the *fondachi* set up by Frederick II in 1229; ibid.
52 *La Citez*, p. 193.
53 Ibid., p. 201; English transl. *PPTS* 6, p. 18.

CHAPTER 15: OTHER PUBLIC WORKS

1 *Regesta*, no. 160. See J. Prawer 1980, p. 98.
2 Upton-Ward, *Rule of the Temple*, pp. 65–6 and see in index; Johns, 'Abbey of St Mary', p. 123.
3 Susan Edgington, 'Medical Care in the Hospital of St John in Jerusalem', in Helen Nicholson (ed.), *The Military Orders*, vol. 2, *Welfare and Warfare*, Aldershot, Hampshire 1998, p. 32.
4 Nasir-i Khosraw, p. 23.
5 Theodericus 13, p. 157–8; John of Würzburg, p. 131.
6 See E. King, *Rule, Statutes and Customs*, pp. 34–40.
7 The important anonymous Munich text (Clm. 4620) has been published and analysed by B.Z. Kedar, 'A Twelfth Century Description of the Jerusalem Hospital', in H. Nicholson

(ed.), *The Military Orders*, pp. 3–26. See also Susan Edgington, 'Medical Care' in the same volume, pp. 27–33.

8 This is recorded by the anonymous pilgrim of the Munich text; Kedar, 'Jerusalem Hospital', p. 7. Non-Christians were not only patients but also, it would seem, members of the medical staff; Edgington, 'Medical Care', p. 28, not perhaps surprising considering the comparatively advanced state of medical research and treatment among Jews and Muslims.

9 According to John of Würzburg (p. 131), there were two thousand patients when he visited the hospital in the early 1160s. On the other hand, Theoderich (13, p. 158) refers to 'more than one thousand'. Kedar suggests that John of Würzburg's visit may have taken place at the time of an emergency which would have swollen the number of patients, noting for example that after the battle of Montgisard in 1177, the 750 seriously injured men joined the 900 sick in the Jerusalem hospital; Kedar, 'Jerusalem Hospital', p. 8.

10 King, *Rule, Statutes and Customs*, p. 35.

11 Ibid., p. 35.

12 Ibid., p. 37.

13 C.M. Watson, *The Story of Jerusalem*, London 1918, p. 217.

14 Hiyari, 'Crusader Jerusalem', p. 167. It also served as a school of medicine; see Donald P. Little, 'Jerusalem under the Ayyubids and Mamluks 1187–1516 AD', in J. Asali (ed.), *Jerusalem in History*, London 1997 p. 180.

15 Ludolph of Suchem, p. 106.

16 Felix Fabri, vol. I, p. 285. Several other sources describe the continued use and deterioration of this institution until its final abandonment in the early sixteenth century. These are summed up in Silvia Schein, 'Latin Hospices in Jerusalem in the Late Middle Ages', *ZDPV* 101, 1985, pp. 82–92.

17 See B. Waldenstein-Wartenberg, *Die Vassallen Christi: Kulturgeschichte des Johanniterordens im Mittelalter*, Vienna 1988, pp. 108–10.

18 Kedar, 'Jerusalem Hospital', p. 10. This assumes that all the wards were on the ground floor.

19 *La Citez*, p. 192; English transl. *PPTS* 6, p. 6.

20 Ibid., p. 193; English transl. *PPTS* 6, p. 7.

21 Schick 1902, facing p. 48.

22 Folda, *Art of the Crusades*, pp. 274–8; William of Tyre, 18.3.

23 Theodericus 13, pp. 157–8, English transl. p. 22.

24 William of Tyre, 18.3.

25 Zeev Goldmann, *Akko in the Time of the Crusades*, Acre 1994, Plates 18, 19.

26 Felix Fabri, vol. I, p. 285.

27 Benvenisti, *Crusaders in the Holy Land*, p. 62.

28 *La Citez*, p. 193.

29 Luttrell, 'Earliest Hospitallers', p. 38.

30 Kedar, 'Jerusalem Hospital', p. 4 (in appendix, p. 24).

31 '*Antiliya*' is a Greek term for an animal-powered mechanism found in the East which, by rotating a large vertical wheel, was used to lower and raise jars tied to a rope into a well. Such machines are recorded in Crusader period sources. Theoderich refers to one at the foot of Mount Hermon: (*rotalem machinam ad deducendam aquam*) Theodericus, p. 189. See also the reference to an *antiliya* at Bir Ayyûb, below, p. 177. The distinctive jars are occasionally found in excavations.

32 Schick's plan of the cesspool (38) shows eight shafts, probably originally from latrines located above them. See plan (PEFQS/Schick/202/7) published in *Survey of Western Palestine*, Sheet 50.

33 On the oven, see *Survey of Western Palestine*, p. 238; on the wine presses, 'Church of the Knights of St. John', *PEFQS* 1872, plan facing p. 100.
34 See Perez, *Focus East*, pp. 92–3. This view shows the south face of the building with its central doorway and with the Church of the Holy Sepulchre in the background. A second view dated 1887, taken from the south-west corner of the building (printed in reverse), appears in Ely Schiller, *The First Photographs of the Old City*, Jerusalem 1980, p. 132.
35 See p. 89, n. 38.
36 Jacques de Vitry, p. 55.
37 *Survey of Western Palestine*, p. 272.
38 For an attempt at reconstructing the appearance of this complex see M. Ben-Dov, 'Restoration of St Mary's Church', p. 141. Both Ovadiah and Ben-Dov suggest that the building to the south contained the hospital on the ground floor and a ceremonial hall above it. Ben-Dov adds that the courtyard building to the north was the hospice. While this is possible, there is no published archaeological evidence supporting this identification.
39 See pp. 96–7.
40 Dan Bahat and Aren Maeir, 'Clearing the Area. Archaeological Excavations and Quarrying', in D. Kroyanker, *The Making of the City Hall Complex, Jerusalem* Jerusalem 1993, pp. 324–5. See p. 97.
41 *Eracles*, vol. 2, p. 82. See also p. 97: '*porte de joste Saint Ladre*'.
42 Clermont-Ganneau, 'Archaeological and Epigraphic Notes on Palestine', *PEFQS* 1901, p. 112.
43 R. Heistand, ed., *Vorarbeiten zum Oriens Pontificius, III, Papsturkunden für Kirchen im Heiligen Lande*, Abhandlungen der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Göttingen, Phil.-hist. Klasse, series 3, 136: Göttingen 1985, pp. 218–22, n. 79; cf. *Regesta*, n. 331; Pringle, 'Crusader Jerusalem', p. 107.
44 Theodericus, 26, p. 173.
45 Denys Pringle, 'Town Defences in the Crusader Kingdom of Jerusalem' pp. 69–121, in Ivy A. Corfis and Michael Wolfe (eds), *The Medieval City Under Siege*, Woodbridge 1995, p. 81.
46 Daniel, p. 3. He stayed in the *Metochia* of the Laura of St Sabas. This was the hospice of the Great Laura of St Sabas, one of four hospices which Sabas himself established in the late fifth century. According to Joseph Patrich, it consisted of a number of cells in the vicinity of the Citadel; Joseph Patrich, *Sabas, Leader of Palestinian Monasticism, A Comparative Study in Eastern Monasticism, Fourth to Seventh Centuries*, Washington DC, 1995, pp. 165–6.
47 John of Würzburg, pp. 132–3.
48 Joannes Phocas, p. 19.
49 Levy, 'Medieval Maps', p. 426.
50 Al-Muqaddasi, pp. 39–40.
51 Jacques de Vitry, p. 64.
52 George Williams, *The Holy City. Historical Topographical, and Antiquarian Notices of Jerusalem*, London 1849, p. 18.
53 Schick, 'Muristan', pp. 51–2.
54 Pierotti, *Jerusalem Explored*, p. 14.
55 See p. 95.
56 Avigad 1983, p. 250.
57 Shlomo D. Goitein, 'Jerusalem in the Arab Period, 638–1099', *Jerusalem Cathedra,* vol. 2, 1982, p. 189.

58 Yehoshu'a Frenkel, 'Political and social aspects of Islamic religious endowments (*awqâf*): Saladin in Cairo (1169–73) and Jerusalem (1187–93)', *BSOAS* 62, 1999, p. 8.
59 See al-Idrîsî, p. 33; Wightman, *The Walls*, p. 295.
60 See p. 175; Robinson, *Biblical Researches*, vol. 3, 1970, p. 178; Pierotti, *Jerusalem Explored*, p. 14.
61 J.T. Barkley, *The City of the Great King*, Philadelphia 1857, p. 452,
62 Titus Tobler, *Denkblätter aus Jerusalem*, Constance 1853, p. 433–7.
63 Theodericus, 17, p. 165.
64 Johns, 'Citadel', p. 177.
65 Ibid., p. 182. According to Geva, the later excavations proved that this structure was in fact Ottoman (Geva, 'Excavations in the Citadel', p. 71) but he gives no archaeological evidence for this late date. As Johns gives clear evidence to support his dating – the typically twelfth-century diagonal tooling of the masonry – I see no reason to dispute the Crusader date.
66 John of Würzburg, p. 134; English transl. *PPTS* 5, p. 21.
67 Theodericus, 17; pp. 164–5; English transl. *PPTS* 5, p. 31.
68 See p. 96.
69 *Survey of Western Palestine*, p. 386. This area has recently been surveyed and will be published by Misgav Har-Peled.
70 *La Citez*, p. 200.
71 Ibid., p. 200. As a former stable it cannot have made a very comfortable hospice, but this is in keeping with the treatment of Christian pilgrims under Ayyubid and later Muslim rule. At Jaffa ancient vaults described as caves were used to house newly arrived pilgrims, and the harsh conditions are described by several medieval pilgrims.
72 Schick, 'Muristan', p. 50. The shops at the south-eastern end of the quarter on David Street still show tie-holes in the piers, but perhaps in too high a position in relationship to the floor level in the twelfth century; they may be of considerably later date.
73 Frenkel, 'Political and social aspects', p. 8.
74 Al-Idrîsî, pp. 225–6.

CHAPTER 16: URBAN INDUSTRY, CRAFTS, TRADES AND INSTITUTIONS OF COMMERCE AND FINANCE

1 Benjamin of Tudela, p. 22. Ongoing excavations (headed by Amit Re'em of the Israel Antiquities Authority) to the south of the citadel, have exposed a number of plastered pools of medieval date which could be evidence of this activity.
2 Adler, *Jewish Travellers*, p. 88.
3 In addition, water could possibly have been siphoned off from the aqueduct from Artas which passed by this area.
4 Peter W. Edbury, *The Conquest of Jerusalem and the Third Crusade*, Aldershot, Hampshire, 1996, p. 17 and see above, p. 171, n. 7. The pool continued to be used by tanners after the departure of the Franks; in 1480 Felix Fabri records that a Muslim tanner was working at the spring, soaking and pounding his hides and consequently befouling the water of the entire pool. Felix Fabri, vol. II, p. 527.
5 Mentioned p. 161.
6 A possible argument in favour of a Crusader period date for these installations (pending clear archaeological evidence for their date) is the fact that only a single tanner is represented in the Haram documents (about 1,000 documents relating to a period of *c.* 250 years between 1207–8 and 1461–2 which were discovered on the Temple Mount), a fact

which suggests a major decline in the industry under the Muslims. See Huda Lutfi, *Al-Quds al-Mamlûkiyya. A History of Mamluk Jerusalem Based on the Haram Documents*, Berlin 1985, p. 303.

7 Upton-Ward, *Rule of the Temple*, p. 44, no. 100, p. 47, no. 112, p. 53, no. 138; King, *Rule, Statutes and Customs*, p. 22, n. 8.

8 Upton-Ward, *Rule of the Temple*, p. 52, no. 131.

9 *La Citez*, p. 196; English transl. *PPTS* 6, p. 12.

10 The title goldsmith (*aurifaber* or *aurifex*) is recorded in several documents; Bresc-Bautier 1984, nos 68, 70, 99, 117, 124.

11 *La Citez*, p. 193; English transl. *PPTS* 6, p. 7. Once again, this location is open to interpretation. It is possible that the goldsmiths' shops were in part of the market recorded by Schick that once stood to the north of St Mary Minor. See pp. 144–5.

12 Folda, *Art of the Crusaders*, pp. 297–9.

13 A potter, Petrus Tornator, is referred to in *Cart. Gén*., no. 33; *Regesta*, no. 535.

14 Mujir al-Din, *Histoire de Jérusalem et d'Hebron. Fragments of the Chronicle of Mujîr al-Dîn*, transl. Henry Sauvaire, Paris 1876, p. 179.

15 Bresc-Bautier, no. 169.

16 Delaborde nos 17, 18, 28; *Cart. Gén*., nos 20, 100, 225.

17 *Regesta*, no. 269.

18 Lutfi, *Haram Documents*, p. 301.

19 I have not found a reference to soap making in Jerusalem under Crusader rule, although it is recorded in the Mamluk period, when soap was exported to Cairo; ibid., p. 134, n. 169.

20 Robinson, *Biblical Researches*, pp. 201–2. This area is now vanishing under modern construction.

21 Levy, 'Medieval Maps', p. 462.

22 *Cart. Gén*., nos 249, 376, 2127. For references to various trades see Bahat, *Topography and Toponomy*, pp. 46ff.

23 *La Citez*, p. 201.

24 This is reflected in the large number of abandoned children cared for by the Jerusalem hospital which employed a thousand nurses to look after them; Kedar 'Jerusalem Hospital', p. 6.

25 See above, p. 37.

26 See the reference to a *cementarius* (builder) in *Cart. Gén*., no. 34; *Regesta*, no. 534.

27 Alex G. Malloy *et al*., *Coins of the Crusader States 1098–1291*, New York 1994, p. 18.

28 Other than gold coinage which probably required a special metallurgical production process (and which needed to be well guarded) the production of coinage could have been carried out in any silversmith shop. Communication of Robert Kool.

29 *La Citez*, p. 201; English transl. *PPTS* 6, p. 18.

30 Ibid.

31 Burgoyne, *Mamluk Jerusalem*, pp. 479–80.

32 Pringle, 'Crusader Jerusalem', p. 110. The Templars, who were already developing their banking practices in the twelfth century, may have possessed a similar institution.

33 It is perhaps surprising to find the presence of more than one exchange in Jerusalem. A Templar exchange is not referred to in spite of the Templar expertise in the field of banking. Particularly curious is the division between a Latin and a Syrian exchange. Does this mean that there was some sort of segregation of municipal institutions, as there was with ecclesiastical ones? Did Syrians arriving in the city change their money in the Syrian exchange and Latins in the Latin exchange or perhaps these names refer to the money changers themselves and the exchanges were open to anyone? Too little is known of these

institutions to give an answer. Perhaps the Syrian exchange was intended for anyone wishing to change Eastern currencies for local or Western currencies and the Latin exchange for changing of Western currency.

CHAPTER 17: PRIVATE SPACE

1 William of Tyre, 8.20. See also Fulcher of Chartres, 1.29, p. 123.
2 Rudolf Hiestand, *Papsturkunden für Kirchen im Heiligen Lande*, Göttingen 1985, p. 2189, no. 79.

CHAPTER 18: WATER SOURCES AND THE COMMUNAL WATER SUPPLY

1 Ron Adler *et al*. (eds), *Atlas of Israel*, Tel-Aviv 1985, p. 12. According to George Adam Smith, the average annual rainfall at the end of the nineteenth century was 25 inches (635 mm), whereas in London it was 24.47 inches (621.6 mm); George Adam Smith, *The Historical Geography of the Holy Land*, London 1935 (first edition 1894), p. 64, n. 1 (of previous page).
2 William of Tyre, 8.4.
3 Fulcher of Chartres, I.26.1.
4 Benjamin of Tudela, p. 23.
5 Jacques de Vitry, p. 92.
6 Erich W. Cohn, *New Ideas About Jerusalem's Topography*, Jerusalem 1987, p. 56. The pollution possibly included waste water from the tanning industry situated inside the city walls to the north.
7 According to the French *Continuation* of William of Tyre: 'The Spring of Siloam . . . was not good to drink because it was salt. They used this water for tanning hides in the city, for washing clothes and watering the gardens that were down in the valley. This spring did not flow on Saturdays but remained still.' Edbury, *Conquest of Jerusalem*, p. 17.
8 Al-Muqaddasi, p. 49.
9 Theodericus, 29, p. 166.
10 It was still in limited use as late as the nineteenth century; Yehoshua' Ben-Arieh, *Jerusalem in the Nineteenth Century. The Old City*, Jerusalem 1984, p. 80.
11 *La Citez*, p. 203.
12 Theodericus, 32, p. 179.
13 On these see below, p. 177.
14 *La Citez*, p. 203; English transl. *PPTS* 6, p. 20. We have no information as to the ethnic origins of Germain.
15 Bresc-Bautier, no. 163; *Regesta*, nos 504, 536, 552; *La Citez* 18; *PPTS* 6, 1888, p. 20. On Marino Sanudo's map of the thirteenth century it is rather confusingly labelled *Piscina Superior*; Levy, 'Medieval Maps', p. 488.
16 Antiochus Strategos, an eyewitness of the conquest records that the Christian population was herded into the reservoir of Mamel located about two stades from the Tower of David; F. Conybeare, 'Antiochus Strategos' Account of the Sack of Jerusalem in A.D. 614', *EHR* 25, 1910, pp 506–13.
17 C.W. Wilson and E. Warren, *The Recovery of Jerusalem*, London 1871, p. 21; *Survey of Western Palestine*, p. 375.
18 See Frenkel, 'Political and social aspects', p. 8.

19 *Survey of Western Palestine*, p. 375.
20 *Regesta*, no. 543; Theodericus, 26, p. 173. There is no mention of a pool here prior to the Crusader period.
21 Clermont-Ganneau, 'Archaeological and Epigraphic Notes', pp. 113–14.
22 Wilson and Warren, *Recovery of Jerusalem*, p. 22.
23 Pierotti, *Jerusalem Explored*, p. 229.
24 Robinson, *Biblical Researches*, p. 178.
25 Warren and Wilson, *Recovery of Jerusalem*, p. 22.
26 See p. 162.
27 Levy, 'Medieval Maps', p. 426.
28 Ibid., pp. 434, 438, 460, 462.
29 John 5:1–9.
30 Bordeaux Pilgrim, p. 20.
31 Levy, 'Medieval Maps', pp. 460, 462.
32 Marino Sanudo, p. 49.
33 See H. Vincent, *Le Sanctuaire de Sainte-Anne et la Piscine Probatique à Jérusalem*, Paris 1926.
34 *Regesta*, no. 170.
35 *Cart. Gén*., no. 375.
36 See p. 162.
37 George Williams, *The Holy City. Historical, Topographical, and Antiquarian Notices of Jerusalem* (Supplement), London 1849, pp. 18–19.
38 Yehoshua' Ben-Arieh, describing the cisterns of Jerusalem in the nineteenth century, writes that the pipes and gutters that carried the water from roofs and paved courtyards had to be kept clean and free of contamination and this explains why in the East people preferred not to keep cats and dogs. Yehoshua' Ben-Arieh, *Jerusalem in the Nineteenth Century*, p. 74. This was probably equally true for Crusader Jerusalem. A statute of the Hospitallers, albeit dating to the beginning of the fourteenth century, may reflect the attitude of the Hospitallers in twelfth-century Jerusalem. It decrees that 'no brother or esquire may have or keep a dog of his own or of any other person within the precincts of the House'; King, *Rule, Statutes and Customs*, p. 121.
39 Schick, 'Muristan', pp. 50–2.
40 Ibid., p. 51.
41 Titus Tobler, *Topographie von Jerusalem*, Berlin 1853–54, II, p. 60. This is the second *antiliya* we know of in Crusader Jerusalem. See p. 159.
42 *Survey of Western Palestine*, p. 371; Pringle, 'Crusader Jerusalem', p. 111.
43 Edbury, *Conquest of Jerusalem*, 1996, p. 16
44 See Denys Pringle, *Secular Buildings in the Crusader Kingdom of Jerusalem*, Cambridge 1997, Plate 45.

CHAPTER 19: SEWAGE AND DRAINAGE

1 The drain from the Patriarch's bathhouse is mentioned by Pierotti:

> Going northward along the Christian bazaar, we come to a Turkish bath on the east side, supplied during a large portion of the year from a pool commonly called the Pool of Hezekiah. The refuse water is carried off by a conduit, emptying itself into that which runs along the Street of David. I have examined it at the two ends, and also in the interior of the convent, through the kindness of the Greek Prior. Its lower part is hewn in the rock; but the side walls and vaulting belong to the period

of the Crusaders; it is too narrow to be traversed. Pierotti, *Jerusalem Explored*, p. 131.

2 Bernard the Wise, p. 8.
3 This may be what Pierotti referred to as the 'outer wall . . . whose remains may still be seen projecting from the surrounding earth.' He went on to say that this wall 'was no doubt erected chiefly with a view of protecting the building against streams of rain-water and land-slips, and preventing its windows from being obstructed. It has however proved an inadequate barrier.' Pierotti, *Jerusalem Explored*, p. 175.
4 Jon Seligman and Amit Re'em, 'Jerusalem – Gethsemane', forthcoming.
5 Burchardus, p. 68.
6 Marino Sanudo, pp. 45–6. Burchard's and Sanudo's descriptions of the complete submersion of the church are not as remarkable as they seem. Even today, despite improvements to the drainage of the valley, the situation is no better. At least three times in the twentieth century the church has been flooded. The latest occurrence was at 9 a.m. on 13 December 1999, when, after a sudden shower, water and sewage cascaded down the western wall of the courtyard in front of the church like a tremendous waterfall and flooded the church to a height of 15 m. I visited the church on 15 December, by which time the monks were pumping out the remaining water and hosing down the furniture and carpets. It is interesting to note that despite the occasional damage, the drainage problems were not entirely to the detriment of the church. Pierotti wrote that the Greeks carefully caught the drops of water that fell down in the grotto near the tomb and sold them to visitors claiming for them 'many virtues'; Pierotti, *Jerusalem Explored*, p. 176.

CHAPTER 20: BURIAL INSIDE AND OUTSIDE THE CITY

1 Crusader burials in Jerusalem are the subject of a thesis now underway by Amit Re'em at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem.
2 However, according to the Rothelin *Continuation* of William of Tyre, after the Ayyubid conquest the Muslims demolished the tombs and scattered the kings' bones; Shirley, *Crusader Syria*, p. 64. There is no other evidence for the tomb monuments being damaged on this occasion and they are known from several illustrations to have survived intact. See Helmut Buschhausen, *Die süditalienische Bauplastic im Königreich Jerusalem von König Wilhelm II. bis Kaiser Friedrich II*, Vienna 1978, Plates 67–73.
3 Zahava Jacoby, 'The Tomb of Baldwin V, King of Jerusalem (1185–1186) and the Workshop of the Temple Area', *Gesta Francorum* 18, 1979, pp. 3–14.
4 See J. Strzygowski, 'Ruins of Tombs of the Latin Kings on the Harem in Jerusalem', *Speculum* 11, 1936, pp. 499–508.
5 Dating is based on the discovery of an early thirteenth-century glass lamp sealed in one of the tombs. The lamp was examined by Yael Gorin of the Israel Antiquities Authority.
6 See C. Clermont-Ganneau, *Archaeological Researches*, pp. 106–12.
7 Malcolm Barber, *The New Knighthood. A History of the Order of the Temple*, Cambridge 1921, p. 93.
8 Conrad Schick, 'Reports from Jerusalem. Excavations at the Golden Gate', *PEFQS* 1891, p. 201.
9 William of Tyre, 18.32.
10 Albert of Aachen, pp. 521, 625. Werner de Grey had led a group of Lotharingian knights who seized the Tower of David after the death of Godfrey in 1100 in order to prevent the Patriarch Daimbert from taking it and establishing ecclesiastical rule. Thus the

succession of Godfrey's brother Baldwin to the throne was assured; Harold S. Fink, 'The Foundation of the Latin States, 1099–1118', in K. Setton (ed.), *History of the Crusades*, vol. 1, p. 380. On these events see Alan Van Murray, 'Daimbert of Pisa, the *Domus Godefridi* and the Accession of Baldwin I of Jerusalem', in A. V. Murray (ed.), *From Clermont to Jerusalem. The Crusades and Crusader Society 1095–1500*, Brepols, 1998, pp. 81–102.

11 This is recorded in the twelfth- and thirteenth-century chronicle of the monastery of Egmund in Frisia; *Annales Egmundani*, ed. Georg H. Pertz (*Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Scriptores*, vol. 16, 1859, p. 468.
12 John of Würzburg, p. 124.
13 Clermont-Ganneau, *Archaeological Researches*, pp. 276–9.
14 This would explain the unfinished state of the stone.
15 *La Citez*, p. 203.
16 Clermont-Ganneau, *Archaeological Researches*, pp. 279–90.
17 Photograph in the archives of the Israel Antiquities Authority.
18 *Cart. Gén.*, no. 150.
19 *La Citez*, p. 203.
20 John of Würzburg, p. 131.
21 King, *Rule*, *Statutes and Customs*, pp. 32, 35.
22 According to Pierotti, twenty-four hours: Pierotti, *Jerusalem Explored*, p. 207. Rudolph von Sachsen gives three days; Schick, 'Letters' (1892), p. 285.
23 Pierotti, *Jerusalem Explored*, p. 207.
24 Schick, 'Letters' (1892), p. 283.
25 The Venerable Bede 6, p. 74, based on Arculf's narrative written by Adamnan 21, p. 21. Adamnan writes that 'a number of pilgrims are very carefully interred, while others are left unburied very carelessly, merely covered with rags or skins, and so, lying on the ground, putrefy.'
26 Conder, *City of Jerusalem*, p. 307.
27 Felix Fabri, vol. I, p. 535. A sixteenth-century illustration depicts the building as being covered with four small domes. See G. Zuallardo, *Il devotissimo viaggio di Gerusalemme*, Rome 1585; Republished in Ely Schiller (ed.), *Jerusalem and the Holy Land in Old Engravings and Illustrations (1483–1800)*, Jerusalem 1981, p. 30b. However, an earlier illustration merely shows the nine holes and is probably a more accurate depiction. See Breydenbach's map dated 1483 in Schiller 1981, p. 13. The Hospitaller text uses the New Testament phrase (Matthew 27.7) to describe the continued use of this field as a burial ground for pilgrims.
28 *Cart. Gén.*, no. 150. However, there is no known archaeological evidence for the church.
29 Schick, 'Letters' (1892), p. 285.
30 Felix Fabri, vol. I, p. 536.
31 See p. 96.
32 Dunkel, 'Excavations at Jerusalem', pp. 403–5. This structure is being prepared for publication by Misgav Har-Peled.
33 The leper hospital in Jerusalem was founded as early as the third or fourth century (see pp. 28–9, 96–7, 161), and there were already fifteen lepers in the church of St Stephen built by Eudocia in the fifth century.
34 *Regesta*, no. 342.
35 *Survey of Western Palestine*, p. 255.
36 An example is the Crusader, Hugh of Chaumont-sur-Loire; Jonathan Riley-Smith, *The First Crusaders 1095–1131*, Cambridge 1997, p. 23.
37 P.G. Orfali, *Gethsemani*, Paris 1924, pp. 15–17, Figure 10.

38 Clermont-Ganneau 1899, pp. 129–30.
39 Ibid., pp. 231–2.
40 *Survey of Western Palestine*, p. 428.

PART III: ART AND THE CRUSADER LEGACY

1 It is not my intention here to present a definitive study of the fine arts of Crusader Jerusalem. Many specialists in the field of medieval art history have dealt with this subject and there are numerous publications on Crusader sculpture, monumental painting, manuscript illumination and other arts.

CHAPTER 21: MEDIEVAL ART IN JERUSALEM

2 On the character of Crusader art see Bianca Kühnel, *Crusader Art of the Twelfth Century. A Geographical, an Historical, or an Art-Historical Notion?*, Berlin 1994, pp. 155–68.
3 Folda, *Art of the Crusades*.
4 An example of a Western noble patron is Henry the Lion, Duke of Saxony, who sponsored the mosaic decoration of the Chapel of the True Cross in the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, had the entry gates covered with silver, and possibly supported the Jerusalem metalworkers by commissioning a reliquary of the True Cross which he presented in 1173 to the monastery of the Holy Cross at Hildesheim; Folda 1995, p. 392. On imperial patronage, Bianca Kühnel points for example to the reference by the Greek monk Phocas to a gift of Manuel Comnenus of gold mosaic to decorate the interior of the shrine of the Holy Sepulchre; Bianca Kühnel, *Crusader Art of the Twelfth Century*, Berlin 1994, p. 52 and n. 24.
5 We can get an idea of the importance of Melisende in the development of Crusader art by looking at the amount of coverage her reign receives in studies of Crusader arts. Folda, whose book is the most comprehensive of modern studies, devotes 209 pages to Melisende's reign (including the joint reigns with Fulk and with Baldwin III). This compares with a mere 9 pages for the reign of Godfrey, 29 for Baldwin I, 39 for Baldwin II, 78 for the reign of Amaury and 63 for the reigns of Baldwin IV and Baldwin V. This situation is reflected in the other important studies by Kühnel and Boase.
6 See the discussion of the influence of these two regions on Crusader sculpture in B. Kühnel, *Crusader Art*, pp. 34–46.
7 Jacoby, 'Workshop', pp. 325–94.
8 Jaroslav Folda calls it 'a large new masons' yard'; Folda, *Art of the Crusaders*, p. 595, n. 172. He objects to the term 'atelier', which suggests a commercial institution manufacturing pieces 'on contract', and believes that the workshop was part of, and not independent of, the Templar project.
9 Ibid., p. 450.
10 Some of the very fine pieces in collections include those in the Islamic Museum on the Temple Mount, in the Greek Patriarchate Museum, in the Armenian Patriarchate Museum, in the Franciscan museum of the Flagellation, in the Museum of the Convent of St Anne, in a storeroom opposite the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, and in the Church of the Tomb of the Virgin Mary in the Valley of Jehoshaphat.
11 Jacoby, 'Workshop', pp. 325, 389–94.
12 Because so little survives the only way to get an idea of these important works is by

relying on contemporary and later descriptions, in particular those of John of Würzburg, of Theoderich and of the seventeenth-century writer, Quaresmius. See John of Würzburg, p. 119, 121–3; Theoderich, 5–7, 9, 12; pp. 147–51, 153, 155–6; F. Quaresmius, *Historica, theologica et moralis Terrae Sanctae elucidatio*, vol. 2, Antwerp 1639. For discussions see M.L. Bulst-Thiele, 'Die Mosaiken der "Auferstehungskirche" in Jerusalem und die Bauten der "Franken" im 12. Jahrhundert', *Frühmittelalterliche Studien* 13, 1979, pp. 442–71; Kühnel, *Crusader Art*, pp. 49–52; Folda, *Art of the Crusades*, pp. 229–43.

13 This fragment was published by V. Corbo, *Santo Sepulcro*, vol. 1, 1981, pp. 208–9 and was discussed by Folda, *Art of the Crusades*, p. 239.

14 Gustav Kühnel, 'Between Jerusalem and Bethlehem: The Dating of a Newly Recovered Tessera of Crusader Mosaic Decoration', *Jewish Art*, vols 23–4, pp. 151–7. Kühnel dates the work, on stylistic and historical evidence, to the 1140s, p. 157.

15 John of Würzburg, p. 127.

16 Ibid.

17 This is now being examined by Bianca Kühnel.

18 See Hugo Buchthal, *Miniature Painting in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem*, Oxford 1957; Jaroslav Folda 1995, pp. 16, 100–1, 104–5, 156, 236, 242, 282–3, 333, 337–47.

19 Ibid., p. 21.

20 The psalter is located in the British Library (Egerton Ms. 1139). The binding is a remarkable work in its own right which has been discussed at length by Kühnel, *Crusader Art*, pp. 67–125; Folda, *Art of the Crusades*, pp. 156–9.

21 Buchthal suggests that the other three surviving manuscripts of twelfth-century Jerusalem were probably also the property of members of the royal family and that miniature painting in twelfth-century Jerusalem was 'an exclusive court art'; Buchthal, *Miniature Painting*, p. 35.

22 Folda, *Art of the Crusades*, p. 154.

23 Boase 1977, p. 252.

24 Ibid., pp. 252–3.

25 Buchthal 1957, p. 20.

26 Ibid., pp. 39–48.

27 Ibid., p. 93.

28 Ibid., p. 41.

29 Ibid., p. 48.

30 *La Citez*, p. 7. What about the distinction between Latin and Syrian goldsmiths mentioned in *La Citez*? Did the Syrians manufacture works appropriate to the Eastern liturgy and the Latins pieces appropriate to their liturgy? Probably they did. Unfortunately, however, examples of gold and silver work from Jerusalem are too few and too uncertain to enable us to reach any conclusions as to this distinction.

31 Such charters exist from 1143, 1156 and 1160 and a goldsmiths' corporation is recorded in 1135. See p. 166, n. 10.

32 There are various theories as to the significance of this particular shape in the Latin East; see B. Kühnel, *Crusader Art*, p. 138, notes 1 and 2. The patriarchal cross appears on late twelfth-century coins and seals, notably on the *Moneta Regis* coins and on seals and coins of the Order of St John, the canons of the Holy Sepulchre and of Raoul, Bishop of Acre; D.M. Metcalf, *Coinage of the Crusades and the Latin East in the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford*, London 1995, pp. 53, 75–8; Gustave Schlumberger, *Sigillographie de l'Orient Latin*, Paris 1943, Plates 11, 12, 20. It is also found moulded in plaster in a cistern excavated in the ruins of a building to the south of the Citadel which is attributed to the royal palace; Bahat and Broshi, 'Armenian Gardens', p. 103.

33 Folda, *Art of the Crusades*, pp. 297, 299.

CHAPTER 22: JERUSALEM IN MEDIEVAL ART

1 See Levy, 'Medieval Maps', pp. 418–507 and Milka Levy-Rubin, 'The Crusader Maps of Jerusalem', in S. Rozenberg (ed.), *Knights of the Holy Land*, Jerusalem 1999, pp. 231–7.
2 R. Röhricht, 'Karten und Pläne zur Palästinakunde aus dem 7. bis 16. Jahrhundert', *ZDPV* 14, 1891, pp. 137–41.
3 Robert Lopez, in a penetrating paper entitled 'The Crossroads Within the Wall' noted that this symbol for the city is already found in the ancient hieroglyphics; Robert Lopez, 'The City in Technological Innovation and Economic Development. The Crossroads Within the Wall', in *The Historian and the City*, O. Handlin and J. Burchard (eds), Harvard, 1963, p. 27.
4 See Schlumberger, *Sigillographie*, Plates 11, 12.
5 Ibid., Plate 1, 1–3, Plate 15, 1–7.
6 Folda, *Art of the Crusades*, pp. 294–5, Plate 8B.8a, b.

CONCLUSION

1 C. Desimoni, 'Quatre titres de propriétés des Génois à Acre et à Tyr', pp. 213–22, in P. Riant (ed.), *Archives de l'Orient Latin*, vol. 2, Paris 1884; Marsilio Zorzi, *Der Bericht des Marsilio Zorzi: Codex Querini-Stampalia IV3 (1064)*, ed. O. Berggötz, Kieler Werkstüche, Reihe C: *Beitrage zur europäischen Geschichte des frühen und hohen Mittelalters*, vol. 2, Frankfurt 1991.

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